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THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

AN APPEAL FOR FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS.

BY THE EDITOR.

NOW that Belgium has been freed from the hateful presence of the barbarian invaders, whose brutal tyranny has received the answer it richly deserved, the Belgian people are returning from exile, having their hearts filled with a new-found but aching pride in the immortal glory which their country has acquired, as a result of their noble and heroic sovereign's lofty conception of his duty to remain true to his pledges of neutrality, and by so doing to vindicate his country's honour.

The first care of these brave people will be the rebuilding of their country, once so fair and prosperous, but during four years ravaged by the savage hordes of despoiling marauders, who swept down upon it like a mighty devastating torrent, obliterating many of its ancient landmarks, and laying it waste and desolate.

It is evident that no time is to be lost, for already preparations have been commenced for the work of replenishment and for the resumption of business. Never, indeed, for one moment, did our noble Allies abandon hope. They faced the future with a courage and a determination coupled with self-sacrifice, which have been not only abundantly justified, but have evoked our admiration and our envy.

The spirit which sustained them throughout their four years of captivity and exile is revealed in a moving editorial, with its confident note of faith in the justice of their cause, and in the ultimate success of their arms, which appeared more than four years ago in the first London issue of the exiled "Indépendence Belge". Here is one of its most striking paragraphs: "So shall we return—let us doubt it not—

to our liberated country. We shall raise anew our towns, set our factories afresh in motion, repair our railways and our harbours, resume our rank among productive nations, and make a new and industrious Belgium great by her works, and high in the whole world's esteem."

But it is not the industrial reconstruction with which we are immediately concerned, much as we appreciate the need for organizing the country's resources to meet the entirely new set of conditions which are emerging from this dreadful conflict. It is with the replacement and restitution of the treasures of art and literature, for which the galleries, museums, and libraries of Belgium were admittedly famous, many of which have been either wantonly destroyed, as was the case at Louvain, or looted and carried off to Germany, by the train load, by the more discriminating of the vandals.

Not only should the Germans be made to disgorge these stolen treasures, but they should be compelled to provide an equivalent, either in money or in kind, from their own well-stocked galleries, museums, and libraries, for every picture, manuscript, printed book, and other "objet d'art" which they so senselessly destroyed during their occupation of the country. Only in this way can they be made to realize the futility and heinousness of their crimes; and we are glad to learn that active steps have already been taken in this direction by Monsieur Paul de Zambotti, the Director of the Art Galleries of Belgium, whose avowed intention it is to reclaim all the pictures and other art treasures carried off by the Germans.

Monsieur de Zambotti has ample precedent for his action in that taken by the Allies after the battle of Waterloo, in September, 1815, when the Allied Powers ordered the formal restitution of all the pictures illegitimately removed during the Napoleonic conquests, and commissioners from fourteen states were appointed to inspect the collection at the Louvre, with the result that no fewer than 2065 pictures were reclaimed and carried off, leaving only 270 in the gallery.

It is not too much to ask, surely, that a similar course of procedure may be adopted by the Peace Conference, and that commissioners may be appointed with powers not only to secure the return of the stolen treasures, but also to exact from the various national collections in the enemy countries an equivalent for every picture, manuscript, and other treasure destroyed by enemy action in the ravaged territories. It must

be borne in mind, however, that the object of such a toll is to make amends, and that on no account must it be allowed to develop into actions for reprisal.

It has been said, and said truly, that history will pay homage for all time to the nation which sacrificed all but honour to preserve her own independence, and at the same time safeguard the liberties of Europe. But it must not be left to history alone to compensate Belgium for having at such tremendous cost retarded the march of the barbarian invaders and frustrated their plans. It is a present help she needs, and it is fitting that we, who owe more to her than we can ever repay, who feel sympathy with her in the hour of her affliction, and who rejoice with her in the hour of her triumph, should seize every opportunity of repaying at least a portion of our debts, by enforcing expiation, as far as in us lies, of some of the many crimes against humanity, of which the Germans have been guilty.

One of the earliest of the senseless acts of vandalism perpetrated by the self-constituted apostles of culture, whose motives have now been so manifestly exposed, was the destruction of the historic Library of the University of Louvain, and the University Halls ; and the object of this article is to renew the appeal which has been made from time to time in these pages in support of the scheme, inaugurated as long ago as December, 1914, to assist in the replacement of the famous collection of books involved in that act.

It may possibly be argued by some of our readers that if the Germans are to be required to make good the damage which they have wrought, what need is there to proceed further with any such independent schemes of reconstruction as the one we propose. To such we would point out that considerable time must elapse before the damage can be assessed, and the work of restitution entered upon. In the meantime the authorities of the University will be anxious to return to the devastated scene of their former activities and triumphs, there to reassemble their scattered students, to resume their accustomed work, and to take a prominently active part in the immediate business of effecting a transition to a peace footing, as well as in the educational and other schemes of reconstruction which are already taking shape.

One of the first essentials in the organization and equipment of any university is a library, for as one of the old writers has said : " A monastery [university] without a library is like a castle without an

armoury," or, as Thomas à Kempis has expressed it : " C'est comme une table sans mets, un jardin sans fleurs, une bourse sans argent ". The methods of modern education have undergone so complete a revolution in recent years, that an ever-increasing part of its energies is now devoted to the encouragement of investigation and research, with the result that the library has acquired a much more important place in the organization than heretofore. It is now the centre of activity, and has been appropriately described as " the laboratory of the humanistic departments ".

There was a time when the university library was innocent of anything so mundane as the literature of trade and industry, but such have been the developments of the modern up-to-date institution that it is no longer limited to things academic. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the term " academic," under modern conditions, has acquired a new and broader significance. In any case, under the broadening conception of the scope of education, and to meet the public demand for vocational training, the modern university has developed into a place where everything useful may be studied, and as a consequence the demand has sprung up for the literature of technology and the useful arts, surrounded by a whole new literature relating to various crafts. Nothing is now alien to the university library, which, in consequence, is called upon to give shelter to universal literature.

It is with this liberal view of the scope of the modern university before us that we are aiming to assist the authorities of the repatriated University of Louvain in their heavy task of making good the ruin wrought by the war, by providing them as early as possible with, at least, the nucleus of a new library, in the form of a live, up-to-date collection of books, designed to meet the immediate requirements of a progressive general university, in which provision is made for the study of everything useful in the development of mind and matter. In order that this collection of books shall be available for immediate use the contributions are being catalogued as they are received, so that they may be ready to be placed upon the shelves of their new home as soon as it is ready.

It will be perfectly clear from the foregoing remarks that it is no part of our intention to relieve Germany of her obligation to make reparation for her misdeeds. The proposed gift library, which is already in a state of preparation, will be independent of, and precedent

to, any compensation which may be exacted from Germany ; and is intended to serve as a tangible proof to the people of Belgium of the high and affectionate regard in which we hold them and honour them for their incomparable bravery. We are naturally anxious, therefore, that it should be in every sense a worthy expression of our grateful appreciation.

We have been living amidst such tremendous happenings during the four years that have elapsed since the burning of Louvain, that our memories, which at best are short, have become a little dulled, and it will not be out of place to recall the circumstances of that savage act of barbarism.

It was on the 25th August, 1914, that the Germans set fire to the library of the University of Louvain, and totally destroyed not only the printed books numbering from 250,000 to 300,000 volumes and nearly 1000 manuscripts which the library contained, but also the famous University Halls, thus destroying in three days that which had taken five centuries of faith and intellectual effort to build up. Only once before in history has such a disaster been inflicted upon the world, when, in A.D. 643, the Caliph Omar, with blasphemy only equalled by that of the Kaiser, destroyed the library of Alexandria in the name of God, and even that instance is of very doubtful authority.

There have been those who have persistently sought to condone this insensate crime by suggesting that the burning of the library of Louvain was an unfortunate accident, whilst others with equal persistence have contended that the contents of the library were only partially destroyed, and that portions have been removed to a place of safety. Unfortunately, these views are not shared by such trustworthy eye-witnesses as Monsieur Delannoy, the Librarian of the University, who himself witnessed the deliberate destruction of the library by German soldiers provided with special apparatus, without any attempt being made to spare the contents. Indeed, so complete was the destruction that within a few days of the disaster not a single entire leaf could be recovered from amongst the débris. Several charred volumes, we are told, which had retained their shape were found, but they crumbled to powder as soon as they were handled. Other evidence of the crime was furnished by Monsieur Henri Davignon, Secretary of the Belgian Commission of Inquiry, in a communication to the Editor of "The Times," which appeared in the columns of that journal on the 19th

October, 1916, where, in the interest of truth, we had placed before us many facts which had been established by Belgian and neutral witnesses, and even by Germans themselves, in a manner which would prove satisfactory to any court of inquiry.

Monsieur Lamy, Secretary of the Académie Française, whose death we regret to see recorded, writing in the "Revue des deux Mondes" in September last, made a most telling indictment of those who were responsible for that savage act of barbarism. He pointed out that the reason why the destruction of manuscripts remains in the memory when the destruction of cities is no longer remembered, is because for man during his brief life here the essential thing is to live not merely in the present but also in the future. It is the duty of the present, which is constantly passing, to bequeath to the future a heritage in the form of a record of its knowledge, its achievements, and its visions. Each age has its own seers and interpreters, who are able with the aid of the most fragile materials to give permanence to their records ; and transmitting by means of a little paper and a little ink the course of their destiny, the recital of their achievements and their struggles, with a confession of their failures, they become the instructors of successive generations.

To destroy these witnesses is to revoke the gift of the dead, to impoverish the inheritance of the living, to rob those who are no longer with us. This robbery of that which belongs to the past and to the future, by those to whom the custody of it has been entrusted for the fleeting moments of the present, is like a violation of the tomb, which is a profanation and a sacrilege.

It will enable readers the better to understand the enormity of this crime against civilization, if we sketch for them in the barest outline the history of the University, and its library, with incidental references to some of the vicissitudes through which it has passed.

The University of Louvain was founded under the authority of a Bull issued by Pope Martin V, bearing date of the 9th December, 1425, which provided for the foundation of a "Studium generale" at Louvain ; and in 1432 the city authorities placed at the disposal of the University the "Halle aux draps," dating from 1317, to provide them with the necessary accommodation for the teaching of theology, an addition to the "Studium" sanctioned by Pope Eugenius IV, which raised the number of the faculties to five, namely : Arts,

Medicine, Canon Law, Civil Law, and Theology. Thenceforward the "Halle aux draps" became the seat of academic authority in the Low Countries, and an international centre of science and learning attended by students of all nations.

It may be of interest to explain that the commerce in cloth was, in the middle ages, a source of great prosperity for the city of Louvain. From the end of the twelfth century the city possessed a cloth hall, which was located in the old market place, but at the commencement of the fourteenth century trade had increased to such an extent as to necessitate the construction of a building which should be capable of accommodating the great crowds which thronged the city during the great fairs, which were held each year in the month of September, and at the same time be more imposing. To meet this need a new "Halle aux draps" was erected in 1317. During the latter half of that century a bitter and sanguinary struggle broke out between the patricians and the plebeians, which caused a rapid decline in the prosperity of the city, since many of the merchants and cloth workers were driven out and found a refuge in Holland and England, where they set up their looms to the great advantage of the countries in which they settled. With this decline of trade the "Halle aux draps" lost the animation of earlier days, and the city authorities, as already stated, had the happy inspiration of offering it to the University.

But for more than two centuries the University could not boast of a central general library, so that the professors and the students had of necessity to make use of the rich libraries attached to the numerous colleges and religious houses in the city. It is clear, however, that the various constituent colleges and faculties had their own departmental libraries, since, in the Acts of the University, reference is made to the regulations relating to the Faculty of Arts, dating from 1466, in which the use of lights and the removal of books are strictly forbidden. Added to this, according to the humanist Puteanus, the professors themselves were live libraries, and the books which they had written were alone worth all the riches of a library. Indeed, it was not until the seventeenth century that the taste for public libraries grew up in Belgium.

The University library proper owes its origin to a former student, Laurent Beyerlinck, Canon of Antwerp, who, in 1627, bequeathed to the University his library, which was rich in history and theology.

This bequest constituted the foundation of the library whose loss we deplore.

In 1635 the Professor of Medicine, Jacques Romanus, son of the celebrated mathematician, transferred to the library the rich mathematical collection of his father, in addition to his own medical books.

At that time the Rector of the University was the famous Cornelius Jansenius, to whom belongs the honour of having organized this first nucleus of the library, which was duly installed in the University halls, in the theatre of the Faculty of Medicine, and Jacques Boonen, Archbishop of Malines, assigned to it an annual sum for its upkeep and development. The custody of the books was entrusted to Professor Valère André, the eminent historian and bibliographer, who presided at the public opening of the library on the 22nd August, 1636, and who, on the occasion of his nomination, delivered an oration extolling the priceless advantages of a library, which he described as : " Temple de Minerve et des muses, arsenal de toutes les sciences ". Before the close of the year André had published a catalogue of the 1762 volumes bequeathed by the two first benefactors, Beyerlinck and Romanus.

Unfortunately, after the death of André the library was allowed to fall into neglect until 1719, when attention was directed to it by the gift of Dominique Snellaerts, Canon of Antwerp, who bequeathed to it the 3500 volumes composing his own library, which was extremely rich in Jansenist literature. When Snellaerts, during his lifetime, was invited to give his library to the University, he replied that he did not like to encounter books bearing his name at the doors and in the windows of the second-hand dealers. He had often, he said, seen in Louvain and elsewhere books lying about bearing the names of celebrated men, which had been left by them to the University.

The bequest of Snellaerts necessitated the construction of a new building, an enterprise which was undertaken by the Rector Réga, a man of great initiative, who was the founder of the Anatomical Museum, and who also was instrumental in obtaining a fixed revenue for the library. Consequently, a new wing was added to the old " Halle," the construction of which was completed in 1730, the entire upper story of which was allotted to the library.

A new element of progress was introduced during the administration of C. F. de Nélis, who became librarian in 1752. His first act was to ask the Government to impose on the Belgian printers the

obligation of depositing in the library at least one copy of their publications, a request which was acceded to, with the result that the effects of the concession were soon apparent. It was also during the régime of De Nélis that a printing press and a publishing department were established in connection with the library.

Paquot succeeded De Nélis in the office of librarian, so that the library was administered successively by two scholars, who may be described as the best known littérateurs of that period in the Low Countries.

It was on the initiative of De Nélis that the representatives of the Austrian Government, in 1769, created in Brussels a literary society, of which five of the foundation members belonged to the University of Louvain. In 1772 this society was installed in the Bibliothèque de Bourgogne, under the title : " Académie impériale des sciences et belles lettres," and ultimately blossomed into the "Académie royale de Belgique ".

Under the administration of Jean François Van de Velde (1771-1797) 16,573 volumes were added to the shelves of the library, 12,000 of which were acquired by purchase at the sale of the libraries of the Jesuits after their suppression. At that time the library contained about 50,000 volumes.

Then came the Austrian régime with all its vexation and torment. In those tragic days Van de Velde, who incarnated the soul of the University, was deprived of his charge and banished from the Low Countries. In 1788 the Austrian Government removed to Brussels 108 waggons full of furniture and scientific instruments, and eighteen cases of precious volumes, which were deposited in the " Eglise des Lorraines, at Grand Sablon ". Two years later Van de Velde was reinstated, and was able to secure the return of the books which had been removed.

In 1795, at the time of the entry of the French into Belgium, the commissioners of the French Republic, Le Blond and De Wailly, appropriated some 5000 volumes, amongst which were the most precious of the manuscripts of the Louvain Library ; the manuscripts and the most precious of the printed books belonging to the Bibliothèque de Bourgogne at Brussels were also transported to Paris, deposited provisionally in the Bibliothèque des Cordeliers, and afterwards transferred to the Bibliothèque Nationale. The manuscripts belonging to the

Bibliothèque de Bourgogne were restored after the battle of Waterloo, but there is no evidence that the 5000 volumes removed from Louvain were ever returned. In 1797 the University was suppressed, the library was placed in charge of a commission, and the librarian of the Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles, De la Serna Santander, obtained authority to make a selection of all the works, which, in his estimation, would be of service to the library in Brussels. The result was a further appropriation of 718 volumes, none of which were ever restored. Writing with reference to this appropriation De la Serna Santander expressed surprise at the richness of the collection which he found at Louvain in the following terms : " Ce que j'ai trouvé . . . dans les dépôts des livres existant dans le batiment de la ci-devant université, dit les Halles, a surpassé mes espérances ".

In 1805, by an imperial decree of Napoléon, the library of the University became the property of the municipality, and in the following year it was placed under the control of a commission, and opened to the public, but in consequence of irregularities in the administration it was closed in 1807 by order of the Prefect.

In 1816 the library was placed at the disposition of the State University, founded at Louvain by the Government of the Low Countries, and in the report of the commission entrusted with the transfer it was said to contain the works most essential in nearly every department of literature for a public library. In 1835 the State University was suppressed, and upon the re-establishment of the present independent University in the following year, the city authorities placed at the disposal of the *Alma Mater* the " Halle aux draps " and the precious library, of which it remained in undisturbed possession until August, 1914.

It is computed that at the time of the disaster the library contained, as already stated, between 250,000 and 300,000 volumes of printed books, and about 1000 manuscripts, of which unfortunately there is no satisfactory record. Professor Delannoy, it is true, was at the time actually engaged upon a revision of the catalogue, but the result of his labours perished in the conflagration. In the course of the rearrangement of the books which this work involved, scarcely a day passed without there being brought to light from the obscurity of some corner important volumes which had lain there for a couple of centuries unrecorded, and consequently unknown.

The collection of manuscripts included many priceless and irreplaceable treasures. Notably: the autograph volume of sermons of Thomas à Kempis said to contain the life of Sainte Lidwige, of Schiedam; a fifteenth century copy of "De viris illustribus" of Cornelius Nepos, which was regarded as the most important text then extant of that author; two autograph manuscripts of Dionysius Carthusiensis; an eleventh century copy of Prudentius; several very fine examples of the beautiful post-Caroline writing of the twelfth century; a large number of manuscripts relating to the history of Belgium and Brabant, many of which dealt with the history of the various religious houses; and a considerable number of liturgical and other illuminated manuscripts of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. The most interesting of these manuscripts provided M. le Chanoine Reusens with the material for his studies, which resulted in his "Eléments de paléographie," where may be found descriptions accompanied by reproductions of a number of the most representative of them.

But the loss most to be deplored is the total destruction of the Archives of the University, including that most precious of all muniments, the foundation Bull issued by Pope Martin V, in 1425, which renders for ever impossible the complete and documentary history of the *Alma Mater* of the new foundation, which was in contemplation at the outbreak of war.

It was not only in manuscripts that the library was rich. Its printed books included a remarkable collection of Incunabula, numbering upwards of 800 examples, a large proportion of which were printed in the Low Countries, comprising many specimens of the work of John of Westphalia, the first printer in Louvain, including the first dated work printed by him in 1474, and the "Vocabularius" of 1483, of which apparently only one other copy is known. The collections of mathematical and medical works were equally notable, containing the vellum copy of "De corporis humani fabrica" of Vesalius, which was presented to the University by the Emperor Charles V. The splendid collections of "Jesuitica," comprising publications by or relating to the Jesuits not only in the Low Countries but in every part of Europe; and of "Jansenistica," which is sufficiently explained by the part the University played in the history of Jansenism, are said to have been quite unequalled, and were amongst the possessions of which the University was justly proud.

Then, too, the University took a very active part in the religious struggles for reform in the Low Countries, and piously preserved the records of these struggles, together with the polemical literature surrounding the conflicts of opinion to which they gave rise. In that way there was built up at Louvain a very complete and valuable collection of material, said to contain many unique sources for the history of theological doctrine.

The collection of Bibles which the library possessed is said, by Monsieur Delannoy, to have been quite unique. There were also many bibliographical rarities, and early bindings of great interest, in addition to rich collections of oriental, philological, theological, and historical literature, the destruction of which is a serious loss to scholarship.

These are but a few of the outstanding features of the library, but sufficient has been said to enable readers to form some idea of its contents, the destruction of which has evoked the indignation of the civilized world, and at the same time to afford them some guidance as to the character of the works required for its rehabilitation on lines similar to those along which it has been consistently developed since its original foundation.

The scheme of reconstruction to which this appeal refers originated with the desire of the Governors of The John Rylands Library to give some practical expression to their deep feelings of sympathy with the authorities of the University of Louvain in their irreparable loss, which found expression at the meeting of the Council of the Library held in the early part of December, 1914, of which Sir Alfred Hopkinson was, at that time, Chairman. It was forthwith decided that this expression of sympathy should take the form of a gift of books to be selected by the librarian from the stock of duplicates in their possession, which had gradually accumulated through the purchase from time to time of large and special collections, which invariably contained a number of works of which copies were already to be found upon the library shelves ; together with a set of the printed catalogues and other publications which had been issued under their auspices.

A list of works forming the first instalment of the proposed gift, numbering upwards of 200 volumes, was drawn up to accompany the offer, when it was made to the Louvain authorities through the medium of Dr. Carnoy, Professor of Zend in the University

of Louvain, at that time resident in Cambridge. The offer, it is needless to say, was gratefully accepted, and Professor Carnoy in acknowledging the gift described it as: "Actually the first which had been effectually given to the future library of Louvain . . . one of the very first acts which tend to the preparation of our revival".

As the exiled University was for the time dismembered and homeless, we undertook, at the request of the Louvain authorities, to house the volumes until such time as the new buildings were ready to receive them. It was then that it occurred to us that there must be many other libraries and similar institutions, as well as private individuals, who would welcome the opportunity of sharing in this expression of practical sympathy; and in the subsequent issue of this BULLETIN we announced our willingness to be responsible for the custody of any suitable works which might be entrusted to us for the purpose. We also announced that it was our intention to prepare a register of the names and addresses of the various contributors, together with an exact record of their gifts, for presentation with the library at the appropriate time, to serve as a permanent record of this united effort to repair some of the damage which has been wrought.

Our appeal met with a ready and generous response, the most gratifying feature of which was that all classes of the community, not only in this country but in many parts of the English-speaking world, and also in several of the allied and neutral countries participated in it, evidence of which will be found in the accompanying list of donors, containing, as it does, the names of institutions which have made liberal contributions of eminently suitable works from their stock of duplicates; the names of individual collectors, who have given, with equal liberality from their own shelves, volumes of great interest and often of great rarity; and also of struggling students, whose gifts partake of the sanctity of a sacrifice, since, in many cases, they consist of treasured possessions which have been acquired through the exercise of strict economy and self-denial.

When the encouraging nature of our report of the first-fruits of our appeal came to the knowledge of Dr. Léon Van der Essen, Professor of History in the University of Louvain, and writer of the article which appeared in the BULLETIN for April, 1915, he wrote in the following terms of grateful appreciation: "Writing as a professor of the University of Louvain, let me thank you for all that you have done

for us since the crime of Louvain. It is such a wonderful thing in this time of horror to see how the scholars of all countries—the central empires excepted, alas—have manifested their friendship, and proved to us by so many deeds and words, that scientific international solidarity is still alive, and among that work I rank your . . . initiative as one of the most—if not the most—effective. I had indeed opportunity in America to see what your appeal was bringing forth, and how by your kind intermediary practical help was being prepared. It is noble work you are doing, work that will have a fine result, and I can assure you that never will the University of Louvain forget that the appeal went out from Manchester. . . . I hope to have the pleasure to come . . . and to witness the rebirth of our poor library, on the very soil of your splendid and glorious country. Kultur has destroyed the treasures of Louvain : it is a fact full of consequence that what has been destroyed, will have been restored by the kind intermediary of . . . English culture."

In one of the earliest reports of the progress of our scheme we expressed the hope that the new library, which was rising phœnix-like out of the ashes of the old one, would be far richer and more glorious than its predecessor, and that the agencies through which that was to be accomplished would be as widely representative as possible. It was a source of great encouragement, therefore, to learn with what promptitude a number of societies and learned institutions had resolved to participate in this scheme of reconstruction.

In December, 1914, the Classical Association made an appeal to its members to assist in the reconstruction of the classical side of the library, and about the same time the Victoria University of Manchester forwarded to the authorities of the University of Louvain an address of sympathy, and resolved to set aside a set of the publications of the University Press, together with a considerable number of duplicates from the Christie Library. Similar resolutions have since been passed by the Trustees of the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, the Signet Library, the National Library of Wales, the Universities of Aberdeen, Cambridge, and Durham, University College, Oxford, and many other institutions, the ultimate results of which will be a considerable accession of strength to the new library.

In the early part of 1916 the British Academy initiated a further movement, fraught with great possibilities, by calling together repre-

sentatives of the principal libraries and learned societies of the United Kingdom under the presidency of Viscount Bryce, to consider the advisability of co-operating with the Institut de France in the formation of an International Committee, whose aim should be the restoration of the University of Louvain and its library. The meeting was held at Burlington House and resulted in the formation of a small executive committee consisting of the following members : Lord Muir Mackenzie, G.C.B., K.C., Sir J. P. Mahaffy, G.B.E., C.V.O., Sir F. G. Kenyon, K.C.B., Sir A. T. Davies, K.B.E., C.B., Sir A. Hopkinson, K.C., Edmund Gosse, Esq., C.B., Hugh Butler, Esq., Dr. I. Gollancz, Henry Guppy, Esq., Dr. M. R. James, Provost of Eton, C. G. Kekewich, Esq., Dr. J. W. Mackail, F. Madan, Esq., Dr. Norman Moore, Dr. A. E. Shipley, F.R.S., Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, H. R. Tedder, Esq., Dr. C. T. Hagberg Wright, with Lord Muir Mackenzie as Chairman, and the Librarian of the House of Lords as Honorary Secretary, to consider the best way of organizing the movement effectively, and to take whatever steps were considered necessary.

At the first meeting of the Executive, which was held in the Library of the House of Lords, it was decided to co-operate with the Governors of the John Rylands Library in the development of the scheme which they had already inaugurated. Several appeals have since been made on behalf of the Committee by Lord Muir Mackenzie, the result of which has been to give a new impulse to the movement.

As soon as our first appeal reached America, in the early months of 1915, it was welcomed with enthusiasm, and we were much encouraged to receive from Miss Green, Librarian to Mr. Pierpont Morgan, a cablegram in which the offer was made to provide a centre in New York to which contributions from that side of the Atlantic might be sent—an offer, it is needless to add, which was promptly and gratefully accepted. Miss Green followed up her cablegram by a written communication in which she generously offered to do everything in her power to further the objects of our scheme, and at the same time informed us that Mr. Pierpont Morgan with great cordiality had set aside a number of duplicates of Incunabula, and other works of great interest from his own library, together with a set of such of his own printed catalogues and other publications as were still available. A committee was subsequently formed, but after careful consideration, it

was decided that so long as the United States maintained her position of neutrality it was obviously unwise to take any outwardly active part in the movement. It is now quite evident that whilst outwardly active participation in the scheme was, for the time, suspended, our friends were quietly organizing their resources in readiness for the time when active co-operation would be possible.

To that end a strong and influential National Committee representing the best interests of that great country was formed, under the Chairmanship of the President of Columbia University, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, to co-operate with the International Committee, in the restoration of the Library of the University of Louvain.

On the eleventh of November, the day on which the Armistice was signed, an appeal was issued, and one of the first active steps to be taken was to commission the Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Clifford N. Carver, to wait upon the Rector of the University of Louvain, with an offer to rebuild the library. It is needless to say that the offer was gratefully accepted, and steps have already been taken for the designing of an up-to-date building by one of America's leading architects, whose plans will be submitted to the authorities of the University for their approval.

At the same time a sub-committee was formed under the chairmanship of Dr. Herbert Putnam, the Librarian of the Congressional Library, to co-operate with the other national committees in the matter of providing the literary equipment of the projected new building. Dr. Putnam, who is at present in Europe, has been in communication with the writer, with a view to making arrangements between the two committees, so that duplication and overlapping may be obviated.

When we inaugurated the scheme described in the preceding pages, our aim, as we have explained already, was to replace the contents of the library, and we had little doubt of the success of our project, but we did not dare to anticipate any result so completely satisfactory as that which has been obtained through the enlightened generosity of our friends in America.

But for their timely intervention it is unlikely that the library building as well as its equipment could have been restored with anything approaching the same thoroughness and dispatch, for although the Peace Commissioners have announced their intention of exacting from the Germans full compensation for the damage which they inflicted

upon Belgium, considerable time is likely to elapse before such compensation will be forthcoming.

In the meantime the work of reconstruction and replacement will, in all probability, have been accomplished, but it must not be assumed, for that reason, that the Germans are to be relieved of their obligation to make reparation for their misdeeds at Louvain. On the contrary, full compensation will be exacted from them, and it is hoped that the funds so obtained will be devoted to the strengthening of the endowments of the University, so that the authorities may be relieved from financial anxiety in the laying of their plans for the future.

Singularly appropriate, and even prophetic, were the words which stood inscribed over the principal entrance to the University Halls :

Sapientia ædificavit sibi domum

and it is to be hoped that the same words, embodying as they do a confession of the faith which has sustained our friends throughout the years of their exile, will be given a prominent place over the main portal of the new library.

The chief purpose of this article is to invite further contributions either of books or money, in order that the gift library which the English Executive Committee, in co-operation with the Governors of the John Rylands Library, have in contemplation, may, in every sense, be worthy of the building which the United States National Committee have so generously undertaken to provide.

Hitherto the response to our appeals has been most encouraging, evidence of which is to be found in the accompanying list of contributors, which includes the names of 280 individuals and institutions, who have made gifts ranging from single volumes to substantial collections of some hundreds of volumes. The value of the gift cannot always be estimated from the number of volumes of which it consists, since many of the single volumes represent works of great importance and value. The volumes which we have actually received and registered number approximately 14,000, but each day brings fresh promises of help, and these are likely to increase rather than to diminish now that the fate of Louvain has been decided. If, therefore, we take also into account the definite offers of help which have been made and accepted, we may say that we are within reach of not less than 20,000 volumes.

That is a very substantial beginning for a new library, and we are

most grateful to those who have assisted us in the formation of such a collection ; but when it is compared with the library which we are anxious to replace, comprising as it did at least a quarter of a million of volumes, it can only be described as the nucleus, and it is obvious that very much more remains to be done if it is to approach anything like the equivalent of its predecessor.

In renewing our appeal we should like to explain that whilst keeping in view the general character of the library which we have in contemplation, we are at the same time anxious that it should be thoroughly representative of English scholarship, in other words, that its equipment should include the necessary material for research in the history, language, and literature of this country, together with the contributions which British scholars have made to other departments of learning. In the attainment of that object the learned societies of the Empire could render very material aid, by contributing sets of their transactions and publications. A number of these societies have already responded to our former appeal, notably : the Dilettanti Society, the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Henry Bradshaw Society, the Polynesian Society of New Zealand, the Malone Society, the Society of Franciscan Studies, the Royal Society of Literature, and the Society of Psychical Research, whilst Professor Gollancz, on behalf of the Early English Text Society, has promised a set of their publications ; but there are still many others whose co-operation we should welcome, and we feel sure that this appeal needs only to be brought to the notice of the responsible authorities to ensure a prompt and sympathetic response. We should be grateful, therefore, to our readers for any assistance they can render in that direction.

Amongst the societies whose help we should appreciate are the following : The Bibliographical Society, the Catholic Record Society, the Chetham Society, the Cymmrodorion Society, the Folk-Lore Society, the Hakluyt Society, the Harleian Society, the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, the Royal Asiatic Society, the Royal Historical Society, the Huguenot Society, the Irish Texts Society, the Scottish Texts Society, the Scottish History Society, the Society of Antiquaries, the British Academy, and the many scientific and local historical and archæological societies.

We are anxious also to enlist the sympathy and help of the Publishers, who have it in their power, more than any other section of the

community, to assist us in the building up of the collection on its modern side. If the library is to serve its purpose it must be a "live," up-to-date collection of books, in other words, it must be equipped with the latest authorities in every department of knowledge. Messrs. King & Co., the Parliamentary Publishers, of Westminster, very generously invited us to make an unrestricted selection of the works announced in their current catalogue, and as a result the collection was enriched by the addition of 175 volumes, which in themselves constitute a library of sociological literature of considerable interest and importance. Mr. Fisher Unwin has also offered a selection from the list of his own publications, and we should welcome similar offers from other publishers.

The University Presses of Manchester and Liverpool have already contributed sets of their publications, and we venture to express the hope that the presses of Oxford and of Cambridge may see their way to follow the enlightened example of those younger foundations.

The Trustees of the British Museum have made a most liberal and valuable contribution of the catalogues and other publications relating to the Departments at Bloomsbury, numbering 257 volumes ; and have promised to make a further contribution of similar publications relating to the Natural History Museum.

There are many other Government Departments whose assistance would tend greatly to the enrichment of the collection, and it is our intention to appeal to the India Office, the Board of Education, and the Master of the Rolls, for sets of the publications issued under their authority, such as : the "Calendars of State Papers," the series of "Chronicles and Memorials," the "Historical Manuscript Commission's Reports," to mention only a few of the most important of these desiderata.

Another interesting feature in the accompanying list, which should not be overlooked, is the number of contributions which have been made in memory of deceased friends. In this way the names of several prominent scholars, recently deceased, have been commemorated, such as : Dean Church, Canon Scott Holland, Professor James Hope Moulton, Dr. Swete, and Professor Emmott ; and we venture to suggest that there could be no more appropriate way of perpetuating the name of a relation or friend than by dedicating a gift, in this way, to their memory, in the interest of scholarship.

We appeal also for contributions of money to meet the many

expenses incidental to the organization of such a library. For example, there are a large number of the books already contributed which require binding, rebinding, or repairs at the hands of a binder, before they can be regarded as ready to be placed upon the shelves of the new building. Then, too, it often happens, in the course of our daily perusal of booksellers' catalogues, that sets of very important authorities, which are indispensable to the efficiency of any University library, come under our notice, and might be purchased with great advantage to the collection, had we the funds at our disposal for such a purpose. We venture, therefore, to appeal for contributions towards a fund to meet these and other contingencies.

In order to obviate any needless duplication of gifts, would-be contributors are requested to send lists of the books they are willing to offer to : THE LIBRARIAN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, MANCHESTER ; or, to : THE LIBRARIAN OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W., who will collate the lists with the register of books already presented, write as to the acceptance of the volumes, and ask for them to be forwarded to : THE LIBRARIAN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, MANCHESTER, where the new library is in process of formation.

We welcome the news, which reaches us just as we are going to press, that the University of Louvain was re-opened on the 21st of January, under the presidency of Monsieur P. Ladeuze, Recteur Magnifique de l'Université, and it is confidently anticipated that, by the end of the year, the whole of the departments will be in full working, with their usual complement of about 3000 students.

Few further words are needed to emphasize the urgency of the need for the library which we have in contemplation, for without it both the staff and the students will be seriously handicapped in their work. We plead therefore for a prompt and liberal response to our appeal.

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Sarcophagus from Visconti: "Museo Pioclementino," Vol. V., Plate 16

ORIGIN AND MEANING OF APPLE CULTS.[1]

By J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., Litt.D., D.Theol., etc.,
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IN some recent investigations which I made into the origin of the Greek gods the suggestion was made that a number of the Olympian Divinities were personifications of or projections from the vegetable world. The plant or tree was first thought of animistically as being the residence of some virtue or potency, helpful or hurtful as the case might be, capable of being propitiated on the one hand, or employed in human service on the other: and it was not difficult to trace, in individual cases, the process of personification as the hidden life of the plant or tree became an animal form, a human form, or an ultimate deity. Amongst the cases which were discussed one of the most interesting was that of the great god Apollo, the lord of light and healing: it was suggested that the god was the personification of the healing virtue and solar attributes of the mistletoe, and particularly of the mistletoe as it is found growing upon the apple-tree; and that the apple and its mistletoe are his original sacred symbols.

Moreover, since it is tolerably certain that Apollo in the Greek religion is a migration from the more northerly regions, and his mythical home is somewhere at the back of the North wind, it was not unnatural to suggest that the name by which he was known in the Hellenic world is not a Greek name at all, but itself a migration from some northern tribe: and it was audaciously affirmed that Apollo was only our apple in disguise.

One need not be surprised that such revolutionary views provoked sharp opposition. The religious conservatism of the scholarly world was offended, for scholars are still more pagan than Christian, and have never really lost faith in the more decent of the Olympian

[1] An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 23 October, 1917.

deities. The degradation of the great god of light to a spray of mistletoe, or to an apple-tree would have been blasphemy in ancient times, and is academic blasphemy still.

Even those who were not the victims of hereditary religious conservatism found it hard to believe that there had been a northern apple-god, when no trace of such a divinity had even been detected, nor had any satisfactory parallel to Apollo turned up in the northern mythologies. It was not an unreasonable request, therefore, to be asked to produce one's apple-god in a definitely northern form, and to find the missing links between himself and our lord Phœbus. The object of the present lecture is to try and meet these criticisms and questionings.

CHAPTER I.

On the Existence of Apple Cults.

All students of folk-lore are aware that, in collecting and comparing the quaint customs which still linger on the country-side, they are not merely dealing with customs, but with cults that underlie them, with misunderstood rituals and lost divinities; in many cases the rituals and worships which are thus embalmed like flies in the amber of unchanging or slowly-changing popular habit, turn out to be the very earliest beliefs and the most primitive religious acts of the human race. For example, it will not be easy to find anything that takes one further back religiously or ritually than the Corn-baby, Corn-child, or Corn-mother of the harvest-field, of which so much has been written in recent years. Every surviving fragment of such a ritual is as valuable to us as a page of an early gospel which time has blurred, or whose first-hand has been overwritten. We see through it, down a long vista across which many shadows are cast, the reasons which made man a religious animal, and not merely the superstitions that keep him so. Of the customs of the corn-field there is not much more, perhaps, to be said; the matter has had such exhaustive treatment at the hands of Mannhardt, Frazer, and others, that the field may be considered well reaped and satisfactorily gleaned, and there does not seem to be any last sheaf whose cutting might make the reputation of later investigators. In the case of the fruit-orchard, the inquiry has not gone so far, nor been so effective. If it should turn out, as we have recently suggested, that the ancestry of the god Apollo runs back into the apple-tree, in the same way as Demeter disappears into a peculiar bunch of corn-stalks, we can only say that Apollo was much more elusive than Demeter, and the identification of his origin is much more easy to contradict. Let us try to find out something more about apple-cults and the associated places where apple-sanctity has been recognised. We will begin with our own country where there are traces of recently expired

customs relating to the apple, which are in some respects parallel to those which occur, or used to occur until recently, in the harvest-field.

If we turn to Lysons' *Magna Britannia*, which is a storehouse of valuable observations of ancient customs, we shall find him describing practices which prevailed at a certain time of the year, in the orchards of Devonshire. He tells us that :—[1]

"In most parts of the cyder-district a custom still prevails of what is called in ancient times 'wassailing the apple-trees'. This custom was accompanied by a superstitious belief, in the words of an old poet (see Herrick's *Hesperides*),

> That more or less fruit they will bring,
> As you do give them wassailing.

This ceremony at some places is performed on Christmas-eve. It consists in drinking a health to one of the apple-trees, with wishes for its good bearing, which generally turns out successful, as the best-bearing tree in the orchard is selected for the purpose. It is attended by the singing of some verses apposite to the occasion, beginning 'Health to thee, good apple-tree'. The potation consists of cyder, in which is put roasted apples or toast ; when all have drunk the remainder of the contents of the bowl are sprinkled on the apple-tree. The old Saxon term 'wassail' which is known to imply drinking of health is thus defined in the glossary of the Exmoor dialect : 'a drinking song sung on Twelfth-night eve, throwing toast to the apple-trees in order to have a fruitful year, which seems to be a relic of the heathen sacrifice to Pomona'." [2]

So far Lysons, who goes on to describe the cutting of the "neck" of the harvest in Devonshire, which we now know so well to be a tradition from the earliest strata of religion. So we naturally ask how we are to interpret the wassailing of the apple-trees. Is that also ancient ? The use of the term "wassail" for the ceremony shows that it has come down out of Saxon times ; but there is much more in the account than can be explained by a Saxon habit of drinking health to everybody and everything at a particular time of the year. It is clear that what the Devonshire rustics were engaged in was a veritable sacrament, in which they brought their deity to their deity, and partook of their deity with their deity, under solid and liquid symbolism.

[1] Lysons, *Magna Britannia* (Devon), cccliv.

[2] Apparently this is from Grose, *Provincial Glossary*, 1790, *v. infra.*

Evidently we must try and find out some more about this interesting custom.

If we turn to Hazlitt's *Faiths and Folk-lore*, which incorporates most of the *Popular Antiquities* of Brand and Ellis, we shall find several accounts of apple-wassailing. We transcribe first an article on "Apple-Howling":—

"In several counties the custom of Apple-howling (or yuling) to which Herrick refers in his *Hesperides*, is still in observance. A troop of boys go round the orchards in Sussex, Devonshire, and other parts, and forming a ring about the trees, they repeat these doggerel-lines:—

Stand fast root, bear well top,
Pray God send us a good howling crop;
Every twig, apples big;
Every bough, apples enou;
Hats full, caps full;
Full quarter sacks full."

Hasted says:[1] "There is an odd custom used in these parts about Keston and Wickham (in Kent) in Rogation-week: at which time a number of young men meet together for the purpose, and with a most hideous noise run into the orchards, and encircling each tree, pronounce these words:—

Stand fast root, bear well top;
God send us a youling sop,
Every twig, apple big,
Every bough, apples enow.

For which incantation the confused rabble expect a gratuity in money, or drink, which is no less welcome: but if they are disappointed in both, they with great solemnity anathematize the owners and trees with altogether as significant a curse." It is clear that we have evidence here, at least as far back as the end of the eighteenth century, when Hasted wrote his *History of Kent*, for the occurrence of some surviving ritual and magic in reference to the apple-tree.

Hazlitt continues: "It seems highly probable that this custom has arisen from the ancient one of perambulation among the heathens, when they made prayers to the gods for the use and blessing of the fruits coming up, with thanksgiving for those of the previous year;

[1] No reference is given, but it is clear from what follows that he is quoting Hasted's *History of Kent*.

and as the heathens supplicate Eolus, god of the winds, for his favourable blasts, so in this custom they still retain his name with a very small variation ; this ceremony is called Youling, and the word is often used in their invocations."

Thus far Brand-Hazlitt on the custom of apple-howling. We need not spend time over Eolus ; he is certainly not the deity involved in the act of youling : the texts are clear for Yule-tide, and this again takes us back to Saxon times, and shows us that if the youling-custom was attached to Rogation-week, it has been transferred to it from the Christmas season. So we need not spend further time over the perambulations of the *Ambarvalia*, or the chants of the *Litania Major*. Incidentally we note that, as we are not deriving our apple-ritual from Rome, we may remove the reference which Lysons has given us to Pomona.

Now let us see what Hazlitt has to report elsewhere. Under the heading of *Twelfth Night* we are told that "formerly it was custom in Devonshire on this night to drink hot cyder and eat cakes, and after the company had partaken of this entertainment to their satisfaction, they proceeded into the orchard, where they offered a portion to the apple-trees and pear-trees by laying a piece of cake on a bough of each, and pouring over it a libation of hot cyder. The men who happened to be present then fired a salute, and the women and girls sang in chorus,

Bear blue, apples and pears enou'
Barn fulls, bag fulls, sack fulls.
Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!

There are several versions of the subjoined song : but that here given is correct in Devonshire on Twelfth Day :—

Apple-tree, apple-tree,
Bear apples for me :
Hats full, laps full,
Sacks full, caps full.
Apple-tree, apple-tree,
Bear apples for me.

"In the South-hams of Devonshire, on the Eve of the Epiphany, the farmer, attended by his workmen, with a large pitcher of cyder, goes to the orchard, and there, encircling one of the best-bearing trees, they drink the following toast three several times :—

Here's to thee, old apple-tree,
Whence thou mays't bud, and whence thou mays't blow!
And whence thou mays't bear apples enow!
Hats full, caps full!
Bushel—bushel—sacks full,
And my pockets full to! Huzza!"

. . . . . .

"On the Eve of Twelfth Day, as a Cornishman informed Mr. Brand, on the edge of St. Stephen's Down, 28 October, 1790, it is the custom for the Devonshire people to go after supper into the orchard, with a large milkpan full of cyder, having roasted apples pressed into it. Out of this each person in company takes what is called a clayen cup, *i.e.*, an earthenware cup full of liquor, and standing under each of the more fruitful apple-trees, passing by those that are not good bearers, he addresses it in the following words :—

Health to thee, good apple-tree,
Well to bear, pocket-fulls, hat-fulls,
Peckfulls, bushel-bag-fulls!

And then drinking up part of the contents, he throws the rest with its fragments of the roasted apples at the tree. At each cup the company set up a shout."

This last reference appears to be taken from Pennant's *Tour in Scotland.*[1]

Now suppose we turn to Grose's *Provincial Glossary*, which is almost contemporary with Hasted (I quote from the second edition of 1790), we shall find, "Watsail. A drinking song, sung on Twelfth-day Eve, throwing toast to the apple-trees, in order to have a fruitful year: which seems to be a relic of the heathen sacrifice to Pomona. Wassail. Exm.," which concluding words I take to mean that *wat-sail* is *wassail*, and that the custom referred to is an Exmoor custom. Grose has probably taken it from a *Glossary of the Exmoor Dialect.*

We learn something fresh from this reference. The custom is called wassail, and so is connected naturally (but not exclusively) with Yule-tide. The throwing of toast must be noted, for it explains the line in Hasted's account, when prayer is made that

God send us a good youling sop;

i.e., a Yule-tide toast, as we shall see more clearly presently. Pomona

[1] Ed. Chester, 1771, p. 91..

may be dismissed, and Yule has clearly the right of way against the howling Eolus, as already pointed out.

Now let us see whether we can get some further evidence as to the wassail-song and the wassail-customs in reference to the apple-trees on the Eve of Twelfth Day.

We quoted just now from Hazlitt-Brand a reference for apple-howling to the *Hesperides* of the poet Herrick. The passage is as follows :—[1]

> Wassaile the Trees, that they may beare
> You many a Plum, and many a Peare:
> For more or less fruit they will bring
> As you do give them Wassailing.

From this verse we learn several things ; Herrick may be taken as an authority for the West of England, and for Devonshire in particular ; the *Hesperides*, which, as its name implies, is a Western production, was published in 1648. So the custom of wassailing the trees prevailed in Devonshire in the middle of the seventeenth century. It was not at this time limited to apple-trees, but was a general charm to make all fruit-trees prolific in the coming year. The name of " wassail " by which the custom is covered goes back naturally to Saxon times.

It is interesting to notice the modification of the word in country districts where it was no longer understood. In Mrs. Latham's *West Sussex Superstitions* we find the following statement :—

" It is the custom in the cider districts of Sussex to *worsle* the apple-trees on New Year's Eve, and for several succeeding days, and it is considered unlucky to omit doing so."[2]

Here *worsle* is a debased form of *wassail* in Sussex dialect. Apparently, in some parts of Yorkshire, the term *wassail* was corrupted to *vessel ;* for it is said that " it was usual to carry about the *vessel-cup* at Christmas, and sing carols, with a view to collect money. This was done in 1813, and perhaps later, at Holderness and in other parts of Yorkshire. The cup was sometimes accompanied by *an image of Christ and roasted apples.*"[3]

We shall see presently that the roasted apples are properly a part of the ritual of wassailing the orchard, and it is significant that an image

[1] Ed. Moorman, p. 264.
[2] Quoted also in *Folk-Lore Record* (1878), 13.
[3] Hazlitt-Brand, p. 620.

of Christ is carried in the procession. Does this belong to the wassailing of the trees, or is it merely a reminiscence of Christmas generally? At all events the roasted apples should be noted, and the disappearance of the ancient word which covers the ceremonies.

To return to Mrs. Latham's account of the "worsling" of the trees in Sussex: she continues:—

"Farmers give a few pence to the worslers, who form a circle round the trees and sing at the top of their voices:—

Stand fast root,
Bear well top,
Pray God send us
A good howling crop.
Every twig
Apples big,
Every bough,
Apples enow.
Hats full, caps full,
Full quarter sacks full,
Holla, boys, holla! Huzza!

and then all shout in chorus, with the exception of one boy who blows a loud blast on a cow's horn. Last New Year's Eve the mother of a sick boy told me that her poor child was sadly put out because he was not able to *worsle* his grandfather's apple-trees; and it is quite certain that both mother and child expected a total failure of the apple-crop in the grandfather's orchard to follow the omission."

We can add something to Mrs. Latham's account of the Sussex ceremonies: a writer in *Notes and Queries* tells us that "in the neighbourhood of Chailey (some miles to the north of Lewes) . . . a troop of boys visit the different orchards," and after repeating the chant before-mentioned, they "shout in chorus, one of the boys accompanying them on the cow's horn: during the ceremony *they rap the trees with their sticks*".[1]

In West Somerset they fire guns, apparently, at the trees: the point should be taken in connection with the just-mentioned beating of the trees with the sticks. The whole custom for this part of Somerset is described as follows:—

"On Old Christmas Eve (5 January), or the Eve of the Epiphany, it was the custom not long since, and may be still, for the

[1] *N. and Q.* (1852), 1st Ser., v., 293.

farmer, with his men, to go out into the orchard, and to place toast steeped in cider, along with a jug of the liquor, up in the 'vork' of the biggest apple-tree, by way of libation ; then all say,

Apple-tree, apple-tree,
I wassail thee !
To blow and to bear,
Hat vulls, cap vulls,
Dree-bushel-bag-vulls.
And my pockets vull too !
Hip ! Hip ! Hooraw !

(Bang with one or more guns.) This ceremony and formula is repeated several times at different trees, with fresh firing of guns. I can well remember quite a fusillade from various orchards on Old Christmas Eve." [1]

There are very ancient features in this account which do not appear in the customs of the Sussex villagers. First and foremost there is the presentation of the toast and cider to the biggest apple-tree in the orchard, which is supposed to partake of the offering ; the ritual is now turned into a communion service.

As we go further West we come across more traces of this curious custom.

In Hunt's *Popular Romances*,[2] we are told with regard to the "drinking to the Apple-trees on Twelfth Night Eve," that "in the eastern part of Cornwall, and in western Devonshire, it was the custom to take a milk-pail full of cider, into which roasted apples had been broken, into the orchard. This was placed as near the centre of the orchard as possible, and each person, taking a *clomben* [3] cup of the drink, goes to different apple-trees, and addresses them as follows :—

Health to the (*l.* thee) good apple-tree ;
Well to bear, pocketfuls, hatfuls,
Peckfuls, bushel-bagfuls.

Drinking part of the contents of the cup, the remainder, with the fragments of roasted apples, is thrown at the tree, all the company shouting aloud."

Mrs. Whitcombe in *Bygone Days of Devon and Cornwall* [4] tells

[1] Elworthy, *West Somerset Word-Book*. [2] P. 175.
[3] *Clome* for *China* is still in use in W. Cornwall, or was in my early days.
[4] P. 27.

the same story with slight variations : "They carry with them to the orchard a pitcher of cider and some cake. They hang pieces of this on *the branches of one of the trees, and sprinkle the cider over its roots.*"

It is further noted that "it is customary in some parts *to fire at the apple-trees*, and several guns are called into requisition for this purpose".

Here the pieces of cake in the branches replace the toast in the primitive account. A special tree is the centre of the ritual, and our conjecture that the trees were actually fired at is confirmed. That the toast is actually soaked in the cider appears from the statement in Tozer's *Poems* that "it was the custom for the country people to sing a wassail or drinking song, and throw the toast from the wassail-bowl to the apple-trees, in order to have a fruitful year".[1]

The general question of wassailing is summed up as follows by the editor of *Folk-Lore* in the year 1902 (pp. 95-6) :—

"The custom of wassailing and carrying a vessel-cup are noticed in Ellis's *Brand*, i., 1, 45 ; Henderson (2nd edn., 64-8), and *Gent. Mag. Library* (*Popular Superstitions*), 16, 76. The information given may be summarised as follows : Wassailing, or health-drinking from a bowl or loving-cup was a usual accompaniment of Christian feasting, sometimes extended to the orchards and oxen. The favourite liquor was 'lambswool,' a mixture of ale, spices, and roasted apples. In many places parties of wassailers went about visiting the neighbouring houses singing their good wishes and carrying a bowl with apples, which the hosts were expected to fill with ale, or money to purchase it. But the custom of carrying a representation of the Madonna seems to have been confined to Northumbria, where the name 'vessel-cup' and the apples are the only relics of the wassail-bowl which, one supposes, once accompanied it."

The writer did not get very far in his researches into the origin of wassailing, but he sees that the apples belong to the original function, and in the roasted form. How else could one explain the term "lambswool".

Here is another small indication of the importance of the apple in the composition of wassail :—

"The Antiquarian Repertory (1775) contains a rude woodcut of

[1] Tozer, *Poems* (1863), p. 65.

a bowl carved on an oaken beam, which had formed a portion of an ancient chimney recess. The vessel rests on the branches of an apple-tree, alluding, perhaps, Sir Henry Ellis suggests, to part of the materials of which the liquor was composed" (Hardwick, *Traditions, Superstitions*, p. 61).

Another point that comes up in the *Folk-Lore* Summary is the carrying of an image, this time of the Madonna in Northumbria. But here, again, we cannot assume that the image is an archaic feature of the ceremony, for the Yule-tide includes Christmas, and so the Madonna and the Christ may have come in on their own account, without any link with the sacred apple-tree.

It is likely that a good deal of confusion has arisen in the wassail ceremonies through the change in date of the Christmas festival from the Twelfth Night or Old Christmas Day (the Epiphany) to its present position. The wassail-bowl moved back when the date for Christmas receded, and the wassail-ceremony for the orchards remained on the old Christmas Eve. In modern times the wassailing date underwent, perhaps, another slight change in some quarters; it was moved from Twelfth Night Eve to Twelfth Night itself; here is a bit of West-country talk reported in 1908: "Thicky Twelfth Night is not the hraight day for wassailing the arpul trees. Her should be doned on *Old* Twelfth Night, not on old Christmas Day," said the ancient sage of Stockland in January, 1908.[1] Apparently this means that the old West-country custom had moved forward a day.

There is, however, some evidence from Somerset that the wassailing of the orchards was moved back with the wassail-bowl, and perhaps the Christmas ceremonies, to Christmas Eve, and it may be to this that the aged rustic refers. Lysons, whom we quoted above, wassails the trees on Christmas Eve. In Poole's *Customs, Superstitions, and Legends of the County of Somerset*, 1877, pp. 6, 7, we find the following account of the Yule-log and the wassailing:—

"*The burning of the Ashen Faggot on Christmas Eve* is an ancient ceremony transmitted to us from the Scandinavians, who, at their feast of Yuul, were accustomed to kindle huge bonfires in honour of Thor. The faggot is composed of ashen-sticks, looped round with bands of the same tree, nine in number. When placed on the fire fun

[1] C. N. Whistler, "Sundry Notes from West Somerset and Devon," *Folk-Lore*, 1908, p. 91.

and jollity commence. . . . Every time the bands crack by reason of the heat of the fire, all present are supposed to drink liberally of the cider, or egg-hot, a mixture of cider, eggs, etc. The reason why ash is selected in preference to any other timber is, that tradition assigns it as the wood with which Our Lady kindled a fire in order to wash her new-born Son. In some places it is customary for the yeoman and his family to proceed to the orchard, one of the party bearing a hot cake and cider, *as an offering to the best-bearing apple-tree*, and after depositing the cake on the tree the cider is poured on the latter amid the firing off of guns and pistols, the women and children shouting,

> Bear blue, apples and pears enough,
> Barns full, bags full, sacks full,
> Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!"

Here again the Madonna appears to be an intrusion from the Christian side, and the date of the wassailing has receded in accordance with later Christian reckoning, but the ceremony itself is very archaic. One tree stands out clearly as the object to be fêted, and it is difficult to resist the feeling that the shooting of the guns is meant for the tree, or for some representative of the tree.

In 1686 Aubrey published his *Remains of Gentilisme*, and in this invaluable little book for the folklorist (it has been reproduced in recent times by the Folk-Lore Society) we find reference to the wassailing of the apple-trees in Somersetshire. Aubrey notes as follows:—

"Memorandum that *non obstante* the change of Religion, the Ploughboies, and also the Schooleboies will keep-up and retaine their old ceremonies and customes and priviledges, which in the West of England is used still (and I believe) in other parts. So in Somersetshire when the wassaile (which is on . . . I think Twelve-Eve) the Ploughmen have their Twelve-cake, and they go into the Ox-house to the Oxen, with the Wassell-bowl and drink to the ox with crumpled horne, that treads out the corne; they have an old concerved rhythme; and afterwards they goe with their Wassel-bowle into the orchard and goe about the trees to blesse them, and putt a piece of tost upon the roots in order to it."

Here we again have seventeenth century evidence for the custom of wassailing the trees of the orchard in the West of England, accompanied by a curious extension of the wassailing to the cattle. Aubrey notes

that for the participation of the tree in the offering, the toast is placed, not in the branches, but at the roots. We had one case of this previously.

Similar results to our own have been reached by Mr. A. B. Cook, who has studied the legends in the Celtic literature with such astonishing industry and effect.[1] He finds out, in fact, from these legends, that the apple-tree was almost as sacred as the oak, that it had nearly as good a claim as the oak to the title *King of the Wood*, that on the one hand it represented the Sky-God, and on the other the life of a king or hero with whom it was associated. Mr. Cook suggests that the "religious or mythological transition from oak-tree to apple-tree corresponds to an actual advance in pre-historic civilisation. Tribes that were once content to subsist upon acorns and wild fruits in general learnt gradually the art of cultivating the more edible varieties of the latter, and so came in the course of many centuries to keep well-stocked orchards. . . . The apple in particular, the oldest cultivated fruit-tree in Europe, is felt to be the equivalent to the oak." The divergence between Mr. Cook's views and those of Dr. Frazer is not serious, it is a case of the expansion of an argument, not of its contradiction. Our own method confirms Mr. Cook's results from an opposite direction, *viz.*, the unnoticed survival of an apple-ritual, the centre of whose devotion was an apple-spirit.

At this point we may review the evidence which we have collected ; there would be more of it, but, unfortunately, my notes are lying somewhere at the bottom of the Mediterranean, and so we suffer from incompleteness at the hands of the war-god. Enough has been brought forward to show that we have unearthed a genuine ritual of which the apple-tree is the centre. This apple-tree, by preference the biggest or best or oldest of the orchard, and on that account entitled to be called (if the High Priest of Nemi will permit the appellation) the King of the Wood, is regarded as a sentient being capable of sacramental participation with its worshippers under two species : toast soaked in cider, with roasted apples form the one species ; cider, which is the life-blood of the tree, forms the other. The offering is shared between the divinity and the worshippers, and the offering is the divinity. Every side of sacrificial communion is here represented. The offering

[1] I refer to the papers on the "European Sky-God" in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xv., 1904, etc.

has an especial magical value ; it is a charm for fertility, and perhaps a reminiscence of previous fertility. For our purposes the most important point is that the whole of these ceremonies involve the personification of the tree itself, which cannot be thought of as partaking of apples and cider, except by humane analogy. This, then, was the first point that we had to establish, namely, that there is evidence of a surviving ritual of the apple-tree, which would almost inevitably result in the projection of the tree into a personal form, just in the same way as the oak-tree inhabited by the lightning becomes the woodpecker and ultimately Zeus himself. We have not, as yet, supplied evidence to enable us to say whether there was an annual death of the apple-spirit celebrated, nor whether it was a death by violence ; nor can we say whether the image of Christ, which appears to have been carried about by wassailers in Yorkshire, has replaced an earlier image. Further investigations may throw light on these points. All that we have proved is the existence of an apple-tree spirit as an object of cult. That is the reply, the first stage of the reply, to those who say that there is no trace of an apple-god in the north of Europe. Let us see whether we can take further steps to capture this elusive apple-spirit.

CHAPTER II.

The Apple-Bird and the Apple-Boy.

We may supplement our statements as to the custom of wassailing the apple-trees in Devonshire by extracts from a special report made on the subject by a Committee on Devonshire Folk-Lore, whose report is printed in *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* for 1905 (vol. xxxvii.). The extracts which follow will show how late the custom persisted (it may still be extant for all I know), and will introduce to us the apple-spirit under a new form. Mr. R. H. Jordan of Teignmouth says: "I remember in my younger days (a long time ago) being told of the custom of *firing at the apple-trees on the night of Twelfth Day*, being carried out in several country places in Devonshire; and I especially remember an old gentleman, who had resided for many years at Bovey Tracey, informing me that when it was done there was a song sung, a part of which I remember:—

> Bear and blow,
> Apples enow,
> Hats full, caps full, bushels full, etc."

In *Devon Notes and Queries*, vol. iii., p. 113, Mr. Henry Gibbon communicates (1) a curious parallel to the cult of the fruit-tree from Japan, (2) a report of the Devonshire custom taken from the Christmas number of the *Illustrated London News* for 1901.

1. Dr. Aston, late British Consul at Seoul, writes: "There is a custom in Japan, in places where there are fruit-trees, for two men to go to the orchard on the last day of the year. *One of the men climbs up a tree*, while the other stands at the bottom, axe in hand. The latter, addressing the tree, asks whether it will bear fruit well or not in the coming year; otherwise it will be cut down. Then the man up in the tree replies, 'I will bear well'. The effect of this little drama

is said to be very satisfactory." We add an illustration of the Japanese custom from a Carian coin, which appears to have a similar meaning.[1]

PLATE I

2. In this case (the Devonshire custom) the means adopted was bribery, not intimidation. On Christmas Day the owner of the orchard and his people place a cake on the fork of an apple-tree and pour wine on it, while the women chant a chorus, " Bear barns full, sacks full, bags full ".

The Japanese parallel is very interesting, as one of the men employed is put up into the tree to answer for the tree. *For the occasion he is the tree-spirit.* (Parallels not very remote can be found in the Gospels.)[2]

Mr. Gibbon inquired for further details as to the custom, and educed a shoal of references, many of which have been already alluded to.

It is noted that Mrs. Bray in 1832 in her book *Borders of the Tamar and Tavy*, 1879, vol. i., p. 290, was apparently the first to mention " placing bits of toast on the branches ".

" A writer in *Notes and Queries* for 1851 (1st series, iv., p. 309) speaks of a preliminary feasting, at which hot wheat flour cakes were dipped in the cider and eaten : later in the evening a cake was deposited on a fork of the tree and cider thrown over it, etc."

We come next to a very important communication, taken from the *Transactions of the Devon Association*, vol. viii., p. 49. " Miss Pinchard [of Tor, Torquay] in 1876 says that *a little boy was hoisted up into the tree, and seated on a branch. He was to represent a tom-tit*, and sit there crying ' Tit, tit, more to eat ' ; on which some of the bread and cheese and cider was handed up to him."

[1] See British Mus. Coins, Caria, vi., 7.

[2] Professor Elliot Smith draws my attention to a statement in Gubernatis, *Mythologie des Plantes* (i., 5, n. 1) ; " Près de Messine et lorsque le Christ est ressuscité, les paysans qui ont des arbres steriles, vont pour les couper ; un compagnon qui est toujours présent intercède en faveur des arbres qu'on laisse vivre dans l'espoir que le Christ resuscité les a fécondés ".

Mr. A. P. Chope, who draws attention to this feature, makes the parallel with the Japanese custom described above and says acutely that "the boy is evidently the personification of the spirit of the apple-tree, and the libations and offerings are intended to propitiate the spirit in order to obtain a good crop in the coming year. The firing of guns may possibly be intended to frighten away the evil spirits of blight and disease; but, as this seems to be a recent addition to the custom, its object is more likely to emphasise the shouting."

What the writer did not see was that there was another personification of the tree looking out upon us, just as the woodpecker looks out from the oak-tree over the shoulder of Zeus. This time it is a tom-tit! The suggestion arises that there was an annual sacrifice of an apple-tree bird, just as there still survives an annual ceremonial slaughter of a woodpecker in the Carpathian mountains. The account in which the boy eats the sacramental bread and drinks the sacramental cider on behalf of the tree is very suggestive. Mr. Chope saw clearly that the firing of guns was late, but here he drifted into rationalism, not suspecting that the guns had replaced earlier weapons of attacking the tree-spirit.

We might note that, if the trees are actually fired at or beaten, whether in their own bodies or in their personifications, it is just as correct to speak of the ritual as intimidation as it is to call it bribery.

Mr. Chope's communication brought out one from Mr. P. F. S. Amery, showing that the custom was common in the Ashburton district down to the fifties, and continued for some time later. "All the old men spoke of it as having been usual in their younger days. The last occasion in which I took part was on 5 January, 1887, when a party of young men proceeded to our orchard and vigorously saluted the trees with volleys from shotted guns, accompanied by cider drinking, shouting the old charm :—

Here's to thee, old apple tree, etc."

Then follows some more unnecessary rationalism as to the possible good effect of the firing of guns in detaching insects from the bark, etc.

In Devon *Notes and Queries*, vol. iii., p. 156, Mr. H. C. Adams writes that the trees are charmed in different ways at different places. "I never saw it done in Devonshire, but in my early days I lived in Somersetshire, in the parish of Winchcombe, about four miles over the border from Devonshire, and the custom was regularly kept

up there, and I believe it is still, and I have often seen it, and the ceremony was as follows :—

" On the evening (*query*, on the eve) of Twelfth Day a number of people formed a circle round one of the apple-trees ; some had guns, some old tin kettles, or any tin tray or other thing that would make a loud noise when struck with a poker or fire-shovel. Then the leader of the party sang a song of which I can only remember one verse :—

There was an old man,
And he had an old cow,
And how to keep her he didn't know how :
So he built up a barn
To keep this cow warm,
And a little more cider would do us no harm.
Harm,' my boys, harm !
Harm, my boys, harm !
A little more cider would do us no harm.

The guns were fired and tea-kettles and trays banged, and *then all stooped down, and raising themselves up three times shouted, 'Now, now, now:* hats full, caps full, three bushel bags full, and a little heap under the stairs ; please God send a good crop,' and then ' Now, now, now,' again, and more gun-firing and kettle-banging, after which the cider was passed round and another verse was sung with the same ceremony '."

There are some archaic touches about this. The people stooping three times and lifting themselves up, is a bit of sympathetic magic to represent the lifting and carrying of heavily laden bags of apples. It seems to be a part of the primitive ritual, and to be connected with the three bushel bags in the chant, which we have found elsewhere.

In this account the gun-firing is clearly a case of making as much noise as possible ; that is shown by the accompaniment, but this idea need not be regarded as archaic. The guns may have replaced arrows.

Note.—As Miss Pinchard's communication is so important, I print in a note the full text as follows :—

" *Blessing of Apple-trees.* A few years ago, hearing that the ceremony of ' blessing the apple-trees ' had been celebrated a night or two before in an orchard close to my house, in the parish of Tormohun, I sent for one of the party who had been officially engaged in the affair to tell me all particulars concerning it.

" He told me that, after partaking of a good supper provided by the owner of the orchard, they all, men, women, and children, proceeded to the

orchard, carrying with them a supply of bread, cheese, and cider. They then, all being assembled under one of the best apple-trees, hoisted a little boy up and seated him on a branch. *He, it seems, was to represent a tom-tit*, and sat there crying out: 'Tit, tit; more to eat'; on which some of the bread and cheese and cider was handed up to him. He still *sitting in the tree*, the whole party stood round, each being provided with a little cup, which was forthwith filled with cider, and they then sang the following toast:—

Here's to thee, good apple-tree,
To bear and blow, apples enow,
This year, next year, and the year after too;
Hatsful, capsful, three-bushel bagsful,
And pay the farmer well.

"They then drank all round and fired a salute to the trees, making as much noise as possible with all the pistols, guns, or other old firearms they could collect; or, failing such, with explosions of gunpowder placed in holes bored in pieces of wood, accompanying the salute with loud cheering and then *firing into the branches of the trees*.

"They then again stood round, and, after another cup of cider, sang:—

To your wassail, and my wassail,
And joy be to our jolly wassail;

which concluded the ceremony. This is done in dead of winter; and in some cases, buckets of cider with roasted apples floating in them are carried out, and *the apple-trees pelted with the apples;* but I am not sure whether he said this was done on the occasion of which I write."

Here is one more account which has reached me from an old newspaper cutting, describing the custom of wassailing. It is valuable, because it contains a new method of making the apple-tree drink its own cider. This time, the branches of the tree are actually dipped in the liquid, instead of pouring it out over the root. There is no doubt that the tree drinks. Evidence on that point is cumulative and final.

"*Quaint New Year Customs.*

"Wassailing the orchard. A New Year custom in the cider counties. After serenading the farmer, the rustics make a 'cheerful noise' in the orchard, dipping a branch of each apple-tree into a jar of cider, and exhorting them to be fruitful during the coming season.

"It is in the cider-producing counties in the West of England, Devon, Gloucester, Somerset, and Hereford that one of the most picturesque of old-time New Year customs still survives. The ceremony is called 'wassailing the orchard,' and it is supposed to ensure a good crop of apples for the ensuing season. A body of villagers first serenade the

farmer whose apple-trees they have come to bless with a song several verses in length, of which the first is :—

> Wassail, wassail, all over the town,
> The cup is white and the ale is brown :
> Our bowl is made of the good maple-tree,
> And so is the beer of the best of barlie.
> For it's your wassail, and our wassail,
> And jolly come to our merry wassail.

"Having been refreshed, the wassailers proceed to the orchard and surround various chosen trees, making a 'cheerful noise' with pokers, tongs, and any piece of metal that may be at hand. There they dip a branch of each tree in a large jar of cider which has been brought for the purpose, and afterwards place a little salt and some crumbs in the angle formed by the tree in the lowest bough. This ceremony is accompanied by the singing of :—

> Cadbury [1] tree
> I am come to wassail thee,
> To bear and to blow,
> Apples enow,
> Hatfuls, capfuls, and three cornered sackfuls,
> Hollo, boys, Ho !

rendered by the full strength of the company. This quaint custom is carried out both on New Year's Eve and New Year's Night, and in some districts on Old Twelfth Night also."

The study of the folk-lore of the custom of wassailing the apple-trees has involved frequent repetitions, and some of the writers quoted are not independent of one another. It was necessary to collect as many references as were accessible, because it often happens in the pursuit of a lost custom of antiquity that one fragment of the rite is found in one place and another fragment in another, so that it is only by a careful collection of the fragments that we can restore the original mosaic, so as to make intelligible history. For example, in the preceding inquiry, we found little more at the first search than a charm for fertility which appeared in the guise of a communion service, with some traces of violence offered to the tree which was the centre of the rite : and it was not until we unearthed the Torquay custom of sending a boy up into the tree and pretending that the boy was a bird, that we had the parallel personification to the woodpecker as Zeus in the oak-tree.

[1] Query, the charm as performed in the village of Cadbury.

If the object of putting the bird-boy into the tree is the personification of the tree for ritual purposes, it is also clear from what has preceded that the ritual is a charm for fertility: and we are entitled to make parallels with similar cults in other quarters. For example, the practice of the Huzuls in the Carpathian mountains is to ceremonially kill and eat the sacred woodpecker once a year. Is there any trace of a similar sacrifice of the apple-bird? Did they kill and eat the tom-tit in primitive Devonshire? As soon as we state the question, we recall to mind the curious custom of killing the wren on St. Stephen's Day, which still prevails in the Isle of Man, in Ireland, in France, and elsewhere. It is a natural supposition that the tom-tit may really be a wren.[1] The custom of killing the wren has been carefully studied by a number of investigators, notably by Sir J. G. Frazer in the second volume of the *Spirits of the Corn and the Wild* (p. 319). We learn that in the Isle of Man on Christmas Eve the wren is hunted and carried in procession with quaint rhymes. "Boys went from door to door with a wren suspended by the legs in the centre of two hoops, which crossed each other at right angles and were decorated with evergreens and ribbons." On St. Stephen's Day, 26 December, the wren was buried, but it is significantly reported that "the bearers say certain lines in which reference is made to boiling and eating the bird". No doubt this was the earlier form of the rite, before the practice of burying the bird. The coincidence with the woodpecker cult is here very close.

The Irish sing a song over the wren describing him as the *King of all birds*:—

> The wren, the wren, *the King of all birds*,
> St. Stephen's Day was caught in the furze:
> Although he is little his family's great,
> I pray you, good landlady, give us a treat.

Elsewhere in South Wales and in France the ceremonies of King Wren are practised on Twelfth Day, which brings it very close to the wassailing time of the apple-trees. In one district in France the person who finds the wren becomes himself the King, is decorated with mock royalty, and the wren is carried before him "fastened on the top of a pole which is adorned with a verdant wreath of olive, of oak, and

[1] The transition is quite easy; in Norfolk, for instance, the wren is actually known as a tom-tit. Swainson, *Folk-Lore of Birds*, p. 35.

sometimes of *mistletoe grown on an oak*". Here we have the second degree of personification which answers to the Devonshire boy who is the tom-tit.

Suppose then we replace the tom-tit by the wren, and agree that the cult involves an actual sacrifice; can we see any further through the mists of antiquity and into the beliefs of the past? Perhaps we can get a step or two further.

It is natural to suspect that if the wren has been replaced by the tom-tit, it has itself replaced the robin: for according to popular tradition the robin is the mate of the wren; according to the popular rhyme:—

The robin and the wren
Are God's cock and hen.[1]

This takes us at once into the region of known thunder-birds, who are sacred on account of their colour symbolism. There is, however, another reason which can be adduced for the displacement: it will be remembered that what we are studying is a charm for fertility: now in such charms, the female has the right of way against the male: because the woman is the fertile element in humanity, and in that sense agriculture is necessarily of the woman. That is why the wren replaces the robin: but if this be so, we should expect that the human representative would be not a boy in the tree, but a girl; or at least, that the sacrificial representative of the tree should be a girl by preference. Apart from this consideration, the tree itself, considered as fruit-bearing, is commonly regarded as feminine, which leads again to a feminine personification. Do we find any trace of such a choice, or of an alternative custom?

The evidence which we have so far collected does not help us to answer the question, and the only modern custom that suggests something of the kind is that, in some parts of the south of France, there is a rivalry between the men and women of a district as to which of them shall capture the wren for the Twelfth Day ceremonies. But if there is no evidence from Devonshire, and no conclusive evidence from France, when we turn to Greek Archæology, we can readily find what we are in search of.

[1] The wren is called the King of Birds in the ceremonies for his slaughter, but I am informed that in some parts of the Isle of Man, it is known as the Queen of Birds, which expresses its feminine nature, and connects it, as above, with the robin, as the original King of Birds.

Up to the present point in the discussion, we have not drawn at all on classical parallels, being content to restore from modern practice and tradition the apple-cult with its boy-and-bird personification and sacrifice. Let us now see if we can find Greek illustrations of charms for fertility involving the placing of a girl in the branches of the tree that is to be fertilised. If we can find such illustrations they will be a just parallel to our apple-boy. The tree in question, which we are to search for, need not be an apple-tree, but it should be, one would naturally suppose, a fruit-tree, for otherwise there is no special object in its fertilisation.

Those who are familiar with Greek numismatics know that there is a superb series of Cretan coins, chiefly of the city of Gortyna, which have on one side of them a female figure seated in the branches of a tree, variously described as Europa or Britomartis. The maiden is visited or at all events accompanied, by a bird, variously recognised as the eagle of Zeus (*i.e.*, Zeus in the form of an eagle), or some much

PLATE II

PLATE III

smaller bird (which may be the eagle again, on the hypothesis that Zeus made himself small to avoid scaring the maiden !). Mr. A. B. Cook points out, by setting some of these coins in series, that the conjunction of the bird and the maiden is accompanied by a bursting into life and leaf of the tree.[1] Here are two of such coins, one from the British Museum (Crete, Pl. X. 5), the other from the Maclean Collection.

All that I am concerned with at this point, is that the presence of the girl in the tree accompanied by the bird is a charm for fertility, and that we have before us the exact parallel to the Devonshire boy and the tom-tit : or if it is not quite exact, the variation, may, perhaps, lie

[1] He thinks it is a pollard willow, which is something like transplanting Cambridge into Crete. According to Theophrastus it was a plane-tree, a statement which appears to have had wide currency.

in the fact that the boy is sacrificed, and the girl, perhaps, ceremonially married. The end in either case is the same, the securing of the next year's crop or harvest.

Now let us go a little further and see if we can find the boy in the tree as well as the girl.

Among the coins of Phaestos in Crete we find representations of a god, or at least a tree-spirit equivalent to a god, seated in a tree and holding in his hand a cock. The figure is commonly described as Zeus Felcanos, the latter name being inscribed across the coin.[1] Here, then,

PLATE IV

we have the same conjunction of bird-form and human-form with the tree-form. The tree is evidently the same leafless tree as in the Gortyna coins ; like these coins too (it is a point to be noted), the tree has a strongly defined hollow, which may be an original woodpecker-hole. In any case, the tree is hollow.

Comparing the Phaestos coins with those of Gortyna, we see that in each case we have a tree-spirit posing for fertility in the branches under the twofold representation of bird and human being. The Phaestos-figure is called Zeus, on the faith of a gloss of Hesychius that Felcanos is a name of Zeus among the Cretans. It is a very young Zeus, if it is Zeus, and certainly not the father of gods and men. Svoronos describes him as follows :—

" Zeus Felchanos *représenté comme jeune homme nu*, assis à gauche sur un arbre, posant la main droite sur un coq, débout à gauche sur ses genoux, s'appuyant de la gauche sur l'arbre."

The boy-Zeus, as I may now call him, is the proper Greek parallel to the Devonshire lad who is both tree and tom-tit. If there had been any coins of Torquay, they would have shown the same kind of features as we find in the coins of Gortyna and Phaestos.[2]

[1] We give a reproduction of the British Museum Coin (Crete, Pl. XV, 10).

[2] The reference which was made above to the hollow in the tree is important, for the hollow is clearly conventional and stands for something. In

As a result of our investigations we are now entitled to restore the ritual of the killing of the wren to connection with the ritual of the wassailing of the apple-tree. They are parts of the same ceremony. The wren is missing in the Devonshire ceremony, because the bird has been replaced by a boy (or perhaps a girl). The crossed hoops, however, in which the body of the wren is suspended, we have seen to be a part of the ritual of wassailing among the Wiltshire rustics ; and a cow-horn which is blown by a lad in the Sussex orchards was an especial feature of the ceremony of killing the wren in Manxland.[1]

The parallelism between the apple-cults, the oak-cult, and the cult of the corn-field, is now seen to be very close. In each case we have charms for fertility, addressed to the spirit (corn-spirit, tree-spirit) that is involved.

Thus we have a series of personifications :—

Oak-tree or Thunder.
Woodpecker or Thunder-bird (probably killed and eaten at an annual ceremony).
Zeus or Thunder-god (perhaps preceded by an intermediate stage of oak-boy or oak-girl. The latter, perhaps, the Cretan Europa.)

For the corn-field, we have the corn-spirit as

Last sheaf in the field
Corn-dolly or corn-animal (wolf, cat, pig, man) sacrificed and sometimes eaten.
Corn-mother or Corn-maid. (Demēter and Persephonē.)

For the apple-cult, which is clearly related to the oak-cult, we have

Apple-tree (containing Sky-god through mistletoe).
Apple-bird (Robin, Wren, Tom-tit), probably killed and eaten at an annual ceremony.
Apple-boy or Apple-girl.
Apple-god (Apollo, Balder, or some similar identification).

It has been suggested above that the *killing of the wren* was really a preliminary to the *eating of the wren ;* that is, that the bird

its later forms an incuse square with a well-defined central spot. Apparently this central spot once stood for the head of a bird : see plate AR 23 of Svoronos.

[1] Britton, *Beauties of Wilts*, 1825 : "The custom of wassailing is still continued. A party of men assemble in the evening, and having obtained a cheese-bowl, decorate it with two intersecting hoops, covered with ribands, etc." In Train's *History of the Isle of Man*, we are told that in 1842 no less than four sets of boys engaged in hunting the wren were observed in the town of Douglas, *each party blowing a horn.*

was eaten sacramentally as the representative of the tree-spirit. In Manxland the wren is buried, but the song which is sung over it is in evidence for another kind of sepulchre. This song is given as follows in Train's *History of the Isle of Man* (vol. ii., p. 141, 1845) :—

THE HUNTING OF THE WREN.

We'll away to the woods, says Robin the Bobbin :
We'll away to the woods, says Richard the Robbin.
We'll away to the woods, says Jackey the Land :
We'll away to the woods, says every one.
What will we do there ? says Robin the Bobbin,
Repeat as before.
We'll hunt the wren, says, etc.
Where is he, where is he ? says, etc.
In yonder green bush, says, etc.
How can we get him down, says, etc.
With sticks and with stones, says, etc.
He's down, he's down, says, etc.
How can we get him home ? says, etc.
We'll hire a cart, says, etc.
Whose cart shall we hire ? says, etc.
Johnny Bil Fel's says, etc.
How can we get him in, says, etc.
With iron bars, says, etc.
He's at home, he's at home, says, etc.
How will we get him boiled ? says, etc.
In the brewery pan, says, etc.
How will we get him eaten ? says, etc.
With knives and with forks, says, etc.
Who's to dine at the feast ? says, etc.
The king and the queen, says, etc.
The pluck for the poor, says, etc.
The legs for the lame, says, etc.
The bones for the dogs, says, etc.
He's eaten, he's eaten, says, etc.

The music of the wren-song is given in Barrow's *Mona Melodies*, 1820.

For our present purpose, the important point is the survival in the song of the tradition that the wren should be eaten as well as killed. It is as well to record the existence of a musical element in the ceremony, over and above the noise of the cow-horn.

CHAPTER III.

Personification of the Apple-tree (*Continued*).

We may perhaps infer from the occurrence of the two different ways of disposing of the bird, which are suggested by Manx Folk-lore, that the burying of the wren has replaced the eating of the wren. Folk-songs appear to be in evidence for both forms of the cult.

For, example, there is a song, which is still sung by children in the East End of London, which tells of an old woman who killed a robin, and then planted an apple-tree over its grave. This may very well be another way of saying that the robin as apple-bird was buried at the roots of the apple-tree.[1]

[1] The song, as far as I can gather, is to the following effect:—

Old Robin is dead and gone to his grave,
Hum! Ha! gone to his grave,
They planted an apple-tree over his head,
Hum! Ha! over his head.

The apples were ripe and ready to drop,
Hum! Ha! ready to drop.
There came an old woman a-picking them up,
Hum! Ha! picking them up.

Old Robin got up and gave her a knock,
Hum! Ha! gave her a knock,
Which made the old woman go hipperty-hop,
Hum! Ha! hipperty-hop.

It will interest the people of the North Country to know that the Robin who is buried and comes to life again in the folk-songs of the East End of London, is represented on the coat of arms of the City and the University of Glasgow. Look, for example, at the University shield, which is supposed to represent the miraculous deeds and virtues of St. Kentigern *alias* St. Mungo the early British saint. We have no space to show that St. Mungo is one of the great and glorious company of Twin Saints, but a glance at the shield will show the thunder-bird, as robin, perched on the top of the thunder-tree (in

We ought not to ignore another feature which is suggested by the Manx song, *viz.:* the presence of the King and the Queen, who are to eat the bird. This is evidence not merely for the eating of the apple-bird, but also for the participation in the ceremony of a Twelfth-Night King and Queen, whose ceremonial union is an added charm for fertility. Some such charm was almost inevitable, if sympathetic magic is to have its proper place in the ceremony. In the Isle of Man there is evidence enough that Twelfth Night Eve is a time of general license, which may easily have been religious in the first instance, and perhaps confined to a single pair, who, like Zeus and Europa, represented the union of the sky-god and the tree-spirit. Here is an account from Waldron's *Isle of Man* (A.D. 1731 : Manx. Soc. reprint, 1865, p. 49) :—

"Christmas is ushered in with a form much less meaning and infinitely more fatiguing (than the May-day festival). On 24 December, towards evening, all the servants in general have a holiday, they go not to bed all night, but ramble about till the bells ring in all the Churches, which is at 12 o'clock : prayers being over, they go to hunt the wren, and having found one of these poor birds they kill her, and lay her on a bier with the utmost solemnity, bringing her to the Parish Church, and burying her with a whimsical kind of solemnity, singing dirges over her in the Manx language, which they call her knell, after which Christmas begins. There is not a barn unoccupied the whole twelve days, every parish hiring fiddlers at the public charge ; and all the youth, nay, sometimes people well advanced in years, making no scruple to be among the nocturnal dancers. At this time, there never fails some work being made for Kirk Jarmyns (the St. German's prison) ; so many young fellows and girls meeting in these diversions, etc. etc."

As we have said, the license of the youth in the eighteenth century A.D., is not exactly parallel to that which prevailed in the eighteenth century B.C., when religion, as well as passion, prompted the expression

this case, the oak) ; and when we turn to the legends of St. Kentigern, we shall find that the robin had been killed, and miraculously raised to life again by the saint. In the *Aberdeen Breviary* it is described as *quaedam avicula quae rubesca* (sc. *rubecula*) *dicitur*. Thus the raising to life of the robin is a companion legend to the hunting of the wren. There is much more to be said on the folk-lore of the Glasgow seal and the University coat of arms.

of life in acts that might affect the prosperity of the whole of the ensuing year. It would be a mistake to think of primitive people as vastly more wicked than ourselves, and as belonging to a time when there "aren't no ten commandments": if there was no decalogue, there was a myriologue of taboos which preceded the ten. After all, the ten commandments are a mere abbreviation of supposed duties.

If we are right in regarding the Devonshire boy up the apple-tree as a fertility demon parallel to the Cretan Europa or Felcanos, the apple-boy being the key to the understanding of the Cretan oak-boy and oak-girl, we may now take a further step with the assistance of the Cretan coinage. We have examined the coins of Gortyna and of Phaestos, and have seen the way in which these cities have represented the tree-spirit, girl or boy as the case may be. There is another city in Crete not yet identified, which struck a similar series of coins, *the place of the tree-spirit being now occupied by Apollo himself.* The coin to which we draw attention is in the Hunter Collection at Glasgow, and is figured in Percy Gardner's *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. IX, Nos. 15 and 16. The following is the description in G. Macdonald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, Glasgow, 1901, ii., 200, Pl. XLIII, 7.

PLATE V

Uncertain (Town) of Crete.
Silver. *Fourth Century* B.C.
Æginetic standard
Stater.

Obverse.	Reverse
Male figure, naked to waist, seated r. amid branches of a tree; he supports himself with r., while he holds large wreath in extended l.	Apollo, seated r. head facing, amid the branches of a laurel; he holds lyre in l., and plektron in r.

If we assume that the tree on the obverse is identified with the tree on the reverse, and that the god in the tree is the same on both sides,

then we have to call the god Apollo, and the tree a bay-tree. Analogy with the coins of Gortyna and Phaestos suggests that he is in the tree as a part of a cult for fertility. The difficult point is to determine what possible object there could be in fertilising a bay-tree. Has the bay-tree displaced some earlier form? There is much to favour this belief: we have shown in the Lecture on Apollo in the book called *The Ascent of Olympus*, that at Delphi, where Apollo has his own way with regard to trees and the like, the laurel was not primitive, for, as Ovid pointed out in describing the fight of Apollo with the python,

nondum laurus erat:

and Apollo found his victor's wreath in a neighbouring oak. This should be the very wreath which he is holding on one side of the coin.

We are now very near to finding Apollo as an oak-boy, of the type of Zeus Felcanos. The next step from the oak to the apple-tree, is a missing link in numismatic identification. We can find coins representing the god holding the apple, and we can find the sacred apple-tree at Delphi, but the evidence lacks completeness, and we must leave the case in the following form: Apollo in Crete in the fourth century B.C., was a tree-boy, the tree being a bay-tree, with a possible earlier form, not yet identified.[1] Now let us leave a blank at this point for further evidence, if such should be forthcoming, and let us return to the Isle of Man.

The next thing we come across in the Manx ceremony is a combination of music and mantic, in the person of the fiddler who directs the dance. He proceeds to tell the fortune of the coming year to the young men and maidens assembled. This is described as follows by Waldron:—

"On Twelfth Day the fiddler lays his head in some one of the wenches' laps, and a third person asks who such a maid, or such a maid, shall marry, naming the girls there present one after another; to which he answers according to his own whim, or agreeable to the intimacies he has taken note of during the time of merriment. But *whatever he says is as absolutely depended on as an oracle;* and if he happens to couple two people who have an aversion to each other, tears and vexation succeed the mirth. This they call *cutting off*

[1] There is some evidence that at Olympia also the primitive prize was an apple.

the fiddler's head, for after this, he is dead for the whole year. This custom still continues in every parish."

The foregoing account is very striking, it is almost unbelievable that the ill-assorted unions suggested by the fiddler should have oracular force. What force they possess has certainly come down out of the past, and the fiddler must have religious sanction and be a religious figure. The oracle appears as the *Luck of the Year;* it is congruous with the charms that determine fertility for the fruit-tree. The fiddler is a primitive Apollo, with a fiddle in place of a lyre, not a wide variation in music; and the suggestion arises that Apollo was originally oracular at a particular time of the year, and that at other times he was quiescent. The girl in whose lap the fiddler lays his head is the prototype of the Pythian priestess who gives the responses for the god.

Those who have read the study of Apollo in the *Ascent of Olympus* will recall the place which the apple takes in Greek Folklore; in this connection, the story of Hermochares and Ktesulla which is there quoted, is very edifying. The apple which Hermochares throws to the dancing maiden has an oracle inscribed on it to the effect that "Ktesulla will marry an Athenian named Hermochares". This is just the sort of thing which the Manx fiddler would have said upon occasion. It is a reply to the question, "Whom will Ktesulla marry?" Alas that such an interesting custom should have disappeared!

Apollo from his shrine
Can no more divine.

We have to get our answers in another way. The girls give the responses themselves: they have oracular force,

For if she will, she will, you may depend on't,
And if she won't, she won't, and there's the end on't.[1]

Traces of the same practice of divination may be noted at the Lenten fires in the district of the Ardennes, and elsewhere. Frazer has described these fires, kindled on the first Sunday in Lent, in *Balder the Beautiful* (i., 109). Here is a striking passage :—

[1] The oracular element survives in the old-fashioned game of "forfeits" at Christmas time, when a person is blindfolded, or hides his head in some one's lap, as a preliminary to guessing the answers of certain questions. One type is, Here is a thing, a very pretty thing, and who is the owner of this pretty thing?" The punishments for wrong answers have often an oracular ambiguity about them, such as "Bite an inch off the poker".

"At Épinal in the Vosges, on the first Sunday in Lent, bonfires used to be kindled at various places both in the town and on the banks of the Moselle. They consisted of pyramids of sticks and faggots, which had been collected some days earlier by many folks going from door to door. When the flames blazed up, the names of various couples, whether young or old, handsome or ugly, rich or poor, were called out, and the persons thus linked in mock marriage *were forced, whether they liked it or not*, to march arm in arm round the fire amid the laughter and jests of the crowd. The festivity lasted till the fire died out, and then the spectators dispersed through the streets, stopping under the windows of the houses and proclaiming the names of the *féchenots* and *féchenottes* or valentines whom the popular voice had assigned to each other. These couples had to exchange presents: the mock bridegroom gave his mock bride something for her toilet, while she in turn presented him with a cockade of coloured ribbon."

The foregoing account is parallel in many ways to the Twelfth Night divination in the Isle of Man, but the ceremonies are not so serious, and the oracular force is much diminished. The same thing is true of the Hallowe'en divinations, of which we have the following statement in Frazer:—[1]

"In the Highlands of Scotland, as the evening of Hallowe'en wore on, young people gathered in one of the houses and resorted to an almost endless variety of games, or rather, *forms of divination*, for the purpose of ascertaining the future fate of each member of the company. Were they to marry or to remain single, was the marriage to take place this year or never, who was to be married first, what sort of husband or wife he or she was to get, the name, the trade, the colour of the hair, the amount of property of the future spouse—these were questions that were eagerly canvassed and the answers to them furnished never failing entertainment."

Here also there seems to be a lack of seriousness which can hardly be primitive.

[1] *Op. cit.*, i., 234.

CHAPTER IV.

Ganymedes and Hebe.

We have shown that the Devonshire custom of placing a boy in the branches of an apple-tree as a representative of the tree, and as a substitute for a previous bird-representative, is strictly parallel to the development of the oak-cults and thunder-cults, which we were able to trace in Crete and elsewhere. We are now going to show that our investigation is capable of throwing some further light on the problems of Greek mythology.

Returning for the moment to the Torquay custom, we see that the apple-sacrament by which the rustics share with the tree the life of the tree, has developed a human representative, who stands for the tree on the one hand, and for the agriculturist on the other, who is operating with sympathetic magic on the tree. This representative acts as an intermediary, and makes the communion of the tree-spirit and the people into a visible act ; he eats and drinks the products of the tree with the people on the one hand, and with the tree on the other. The cup of cider which is handed to him is a communion cup and a libation vessel. He will give what he gets, in part at least, to the tree.

Since the boy is, admittedly, a bird one degree removed, it is evident that if the bird were to be in the tree at the same time as the boy, then the bird would itself have to be fed in order to make the circle of communion complete.

When we turn from the apple-tree to the oak-tree, we naturally ask what has become of the meal in which the participation of the worshipper and his cult object is accomplished. Does the oak-tree also eat and drink, or does any bird or boy eat and drink with it ?

This brings to our mind one of the perplexing features of the Greek mythology, of which no satisfactory explanation has ever been offered : the presence of a pair of cup-bearers, male and female, among the Olympian gods, named respectively Ganymedes and Hebe. They

PLATE VII.—FROM CARL ROBERT: "DIE ANTIKEN SARKOPHAG-RELIEFS," VOL. II., PLATE 2, FIG. 4

are evidently closely related, for Hebe has sometimes the title of Ganymeda, and she stands in relation to Hera, much in the same light as Ganymedes to Zeus. Each of them is a cup-bearer of the gods.

Now in Greek art, it is easy to see that Ganymedes has been cup-bearer to the eagle that carried him off, before he has himself become an adjunct of Olympus. We constantly find him represented as presenting the bowl of nectar to the eagle ; certainly the eagle stands for Zeus in this connection, but it is Zeus in disguise, and away from Olympus.[1] Ganymedes is really giving drink to the thunder-bird, who precedes the thunder-man, and the thunder-bird is the oak-bird.

PLATE VI

We can see this expressed in many ways by the Greek artists, who will place an oak-tree in the field of view, near to Ganymedes, or in a position where he can lean up against it. Sometimes the oak is further specified by the depicting of acorns upon it, and sometimes *Ganymedes is actually giving the eagle to drink out of an acorn-cup.* We see, then, clearly that Ganymedes is the oak-tree boy ; he represents the spirit of the tree, whom he propitiates through the bird by the food and drink which he has with him, exactly as the Devonshire apple-boy does. This was the way in which he became cup-bearer to Zeus ; he was cup-bearer to the thunder-tree and to the thunder-bird ; to the oak-tree and to the oak-bird.[2] Thus he is something like Dionysos in being a visible Zeus, a palpable, though diminished, King of the Wood ; and it is as such a little Zeus, that upon one of the earliest Greek vases, we find him crowned by Hera, Zeus looking on, and Hebe, his female counterpart, standing behind

[1] The gem which is here represented will be found in Furtwängler, Pl. LXV, 52.

[2] The accompanying plate (Robert. vol. ii., Pl. II, Fig. 4) shows the eagle twice over, and the oak-tree also in duplicate ; the acorn-cup should also be noted.

Hera : the cock, as thunder-bird, is in the picture instead of the eagle, just as he appears on the Felcanos coins of Phaestos.[1] The only direction in which there is a want of parallel, is that Ganymedes does not actually sit in the branches of a tree, as do Europa and Zeus Felcanos. This is not a very important omission in view of the fact that the tree is so often in the representation. We take it, then, that Ganymedes and the eagle are practising an annual charm for fertilisation of the oak-tree, and that what is represented on the coins and gems which we have been describing is a religious ceremony : we have given back Greek art to Greek religion, and restored Ganymedes to respectability.

This is not all that we learn from our apple-cult in its Devonshire and other related forms. It will be remembered that we found out that food and drink were given to the tree, or to the representatives of the tree, from the products of the tree itself. The tree is medicined from the food and drink which its own nature supplies, apples and cider being the food and drink in question. When we come to the case of the oak-tree, we see that the eagle is actually being supplied with drink, but what is the drink in question ? Evidently it is the same drink that is supplied to the Olympians, the nectar of the gods, which answers very closely to the Soma that is offered to the Vedic deities. How can this drink be in any way connected with the oak-tree, or indeed any drink, for we can hardly suppose that a brew was made of acorns. There are only two directions in which I see any possibility of solving the riddle. The drink must be made out of the sacred honey, which leads at once to the identification of nectar with some form of intoxicating mead (*cf.* μέθυ and μεθύω) ; or else it is a drink prepared from the ivy, ivy being considered as a part of the oak-tree, and related to it as Dionysos to Zeus.

It is not impossible that the two points of view may have been combined, just as in the ivy-ale at Ascension-tide in Lincoln College, Oxford. The nectar can hardly have been fermented ivy-juice, pure

[1] Hackl says of the Munich vase that Hera (?) holds a crown over the head of Ganymedes. If that be correct it is perhaps a crown of oak-leaves, and Ganymedes is the King of the Wood. Mr. A. B. Cook objects that "a black-figured vase of this early date would certainly represent a wreath as a black circle". He thinks that Hera is holding a plate of apples or more probably pomegranates over Ganymedes' head.

PLATE VIII.—FROM SIEVEKING AND HACKL; "DIE KOENIGLICHE VASENSAMMLUNG ZU MÜNCHEN," PAGE 95, FIG. 94

and simple ; yet it can hardly have been without the presence of ivy : for Hebe who administers it, appears to have worn an ivy-crown at her cult centres, and at Phlios in particular, which is her chief place of worship, there was an annual ceremony of ivy-cutting, which must surely be related to the Cult of Hebe herself.

Thus the suggestion arises that in the composition of the original Soma-drink, which makes and maintains the immortality of the Aryan gods, ivy had a prominent place. Its combination with honey-mead will explain all the references which have hitherto been brought forward to prove that Soma was a honey-drink. We know from the Vedas that it was, primarily, the juice of a plant. The plant was the ivy.

From the description in the Vedas, it is easy to infer that Soma was a plant, a mountain plant, with long tendrils ; that it grew on the rocks and apparently also on trees ; that it was crushed between stones, strained through a wool-strainer, was yellow in colour (which may refer either to the juice or to the berries of the plant, and would answer very well to some kinds of ivy), and that it became an intoxicant and was as such personified and took its place by Indra in the Vedic pantheon.

For the supposition that the Soma-drink was composite in character, we may refer to Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, who remarks that Soma was mixed with mead : that the term "*madhu* . . . is especially applied to the Soma-juice" (p. 105) : that "the juice is *honied* (*madhumat*). The latter expression seems to have meant 'sweetened with honey,' *some passages pointing to the admixture.*" He sums up the Soma question as follows : "The belief in an intoxicating divine beverage, the home of which was heaven, may be Indo-European. If so, it must have been regarded as a kind of honey-mead, brought down to earth from its guardian demon by an eagle, the Soma-bringing eagle of Indra agreeing with the nectar-bringing eagle of Zeus, and with the eagle which as a metamorphosis of Odhin carried off the mead. This Madhu, or honey-mead, if Indo-European, was replaced in the Indo-Iranian period by Soma ; but may have survived into the Vedic period *by amalgamating with Soma*" (p. 114).

"Amalgamation with Soma" is another way of saying that the juice of the Soma plant was sweetened with honey, in some fermented form.

The equation between Soma and nectar appears to be established ; the philological interpretations are more obscure. The latest explanation

of *nectar* explains it in terms of the immortality which it confers, as a "death-destroyer, from the two roots νεκ (as in νέκυς, νεκρός, Lat. *necem*), and a stem which underlies the Greek τείρω 'to rub,' 'to wear out'".[1]

It stands, therefore, not for the products out of which it is made (honey, ivy, or both), but for the intoxicating quality which it possesses. For the Devonshire wassailers I suppose that cider would be a just equivalent of Soma.

Another title of Soma is "amṛta," which conveys exactly the sense and very nearly the form of the Greek ἄμβροτος. Philologically, then, we are entitled to equate Soma with nectar.

[1] See Boisacq, *Dict. Étym. de la langue Grecque* (Paris, 1913), following closely on the track of Prellwitz, *Etym. Wört. d. Griech. Sprache* (Göttingen, 1915), equates the meaning of "nectar" with that of "Ambrosia".

CHAPTER V.

The Name of the Apple-God.

We have shown that there was a tendency towards personification in the ritual of the apple-orchard ; it was, indeed, difficult to resist such a tendency when one had to ask questions of a tree as to its future conduct, or when one had to share with a tree its life-blood, and apply that life-blood to the life of the tree itself. We pointed out that in the case of the apple-tree, the personification was in the first place through a bird (male or female) that was a denizen of the tree, and, in the next case, through a boy or girl substituted for the bird, or thought of in connection with it. Amongst such tree-boys and tree-girls for representatives of oak, apple, and laurel we were able to recognise by name

Europa, or, according to some,
Britomartis.
Ganymedes and Hebe, and
Apollo.

The first three were oak-boys and oak-girls ; the last appeared as a laurel-boy or bay-boy, with a probability that an oak-boy or apple-boy was behind the form which we discovered. The Cretan evidence was admitted to be incomplete, but it was important as far as it went. It certainly disclosed Apollo as a tree-boy, in a form not unlike the Devonshire apple-boy. Returning now to the north of Europe, we take up the inquiry as to the meaning of the Balder legend. The story of Balder the Beautiful and of his tragic death by an arrow of mistletoe is well known. He was the darling of the northern gods, and of the goddess Frigg in particular. She, Frigg, " took an oath from fire and water, iron and all metals, stones and earth, and from trees, sicknesses, and from poisons, and from all four-footed beasts, birds, and creeping things, that they would not hurt Balder. When this was done, Balder was deemed invulnerable : so the gods amused

themselves by setting him in their midst, while some shot at him, others hewed at him, and others threw stones at him."[1]

But Frigg had forgotten to include the mistletoe among the possible enemies of Balder : so had not the malicious Loki, who fashioned an arrow out of mistletoe, and showed the blind god Holdr how to aim it at Balder. So Balder died by the mistletoe, and there was much wailing of gods and goddesses on his account.

Upon the whole story Frazer remarks that "whatever may be thought of an historical kernel underlying a mythical husk in the legend of Balder, the details of the story suggest that it belongs to a class of myths which have been dramatised in ritual, or to put it otherwise, which have been performed as magical ceremonies for the sake of producing those natural effects which they describe in figurative language".[2]

Frazer thinks that Balder is the personification of a mistletoe-bearing oak, and that he was burned at midsummer, perhaps in the form of an actual sacrifice.

We suggest that the mistletoe-bearing oak be changed to a mistletoe-bearing apple-tree, and that midwinter be substituted for midsummer as the time of the sacrifice of the tree-boy. The curse of Frigg will then be a description of the spells which are said over the apple-tree in some such form as the following :—

No fire touch thee :
No water drown thee :
No iron come near thee :
No blight affect thee :
No beast beset thee :
Good apple-tree.

The gods will then represent the rustics attacking the tree with sticks and stones which are not meant to hurt it, and attacking the apple-bird or apple-boy with sticks and stones that are meant to hurt, so that the life of the personified tree may be given for the annual reinforcement of the tree itself.

Another reason why we say that Balder is the Northern Apollo and the personified apple-tree is that his name invited the supposition. We have shown (in the Rylands Library Lecture on "Apollo") that the word "apple," in its primitive form "abàl," had the accent on the

[1] Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*, i., 101.
[2] *Ibid.*, i., 105.

second syllable ; when suffixes were attached to the word, the forward accent released the initial vowel, and left the syllable " bal ".

Now the name for " apple-tree " is found in early charters as a place-name in the form " Appledore," " Apuldre," closely related to which are the forms *Apfalter*, *Affalter*, *Affolter*, in the Middle High Dutch. Upon these names I remarked as follows in the Rylands Lecture on the " Cult of Artemis ":—[1]

" It has occurred to me that perhaps the ' apel-dur,' ' apel-dre,' and ' appeldore,' which we have been considering may be the origin of Balder (and of Paltar of Grimm's hypothesis), in view of the occurrence of the corresponding forms mentioned above in the Middle High Dutch. If, for instance, the original accent in *apple* (abâl) is, as stated above, on the second syllable, then it would be easy for a primitive *apál-dur* to lose its initial vowel, and in that case we should not be very far from the form *Balder*, which would mean the apple-tree originally and nothing more."

According to these suggestions Balder is the apple-boy, because Balder is apple-tree. It is interesting to see whether the beautiful Northern god has left his mark on the place-names or personal names in this country. For instance, there is a personal name Baldrewood (an English novelist) and another Balderston, but these are clearly place-names used to denote persons. Balderwood, for instance, occurs in the New Forest. On the other hand, Balderson appears to be a real personal name, corresponding to the Greek Apollonides. In Yorkshire we have Baldersby as a place-name, certainly Scandinavian, and in Lancashire, Balderstone. The Greek parallel would be Apollonia. In Cheshire and Notts we have Balderton. There is another near Wrexham in North Wales. I do not know any Balders or Bolders in the Midlands.

It is possible that the arrow-struck apple-tree spirit has been perpetuated in the Christian St. Sebastian, whose festival is a fortnight later than Twelfth Day (Epiphany), and whose death is due, (i) to a shower of arrows, (ii) to beating with clubs.

But this requires closer examination. Was not the tomb of Sebastian found in the Catacomb of St. Calixtus ?

It will be asked whether, if we are correct in interpreting Balder as the apple-tree, and the oath taken by Frigg as the spells for the good

[1] P. 64.

luck of the apple-tree, and the beating of Balder with sticks and stones as a part of the rustic ritual, we ought to omit the pathetic part of the Balder story, where his wife Nanna insists on accompanying him to the lower world. According to the Edda, when Balder's body was placed upon the funeral pile upon his ship, his wife Nanna saw it, died of grief, and was laid on the same funeral pile as her husband.

It is not an unnatural question as to whether Nanna is merely a lay-figure in the mythology, or whether she also has to be interpreted. The only directions in which an interpretation seems possible are (1) that the sacrifice of Balder the tree-boy has been accompanied not only by a mystical marriage with the view of fertility, but by a sacrifice of the tree-girl as well as the tree-boy ; (2) that a pair of trees might have been associated together, and thought of as married, in which case the rites for fertilising the first would naturally apply to the second. The two points of view suggested are not necessarily exclusive.

The marriage of trees is still practised in India : let us see what is said on this curious custom.

" The *aswatta* (or *pipal*) tree is consecrated to Vishnu, or rather it is *Vishnu himself under the form of a tree*. . . . Sometimes it is solemnly married. Generally a *vepu* or margosa tree is selected for its spouse, and occasionally a plantain or banana tree. Almost the same formalities are observed for this curious marriage as in the case of a marriage between Brahmins. Here and there on the high roads and elsewhere the *aswatta* and *vepu* trees may be seen planted side by side on little mounds. This union is not an accidental one, but the result of an actual marriage ceremony. Not thirty yards from the modest hut where these pages were written were two of these trees, under whose shade I have often reclined. Their trunks were so closely entwined that they had become incorporated one with another. The inhabitants of the village could remember to have seen them planted together some fifty years before, and said that they had been present at the wedding festivities, which lasted several days, and were celebrated at the expense of a wealthy person of the neighbourhood at a cost of more than 1500 rupees." [1]

There is, then, nothing impossible in the idea of an actual tree-marriage. The explanation of this quaint belief may lie in various

[1] Dubois and Beauchamp, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies* (3rd ed., p. 653).

directions ; it would be quite natural in the case of a pair of trees of the same species, one of which was male and the other female (as the wild fig-tree and the fruit-bearing fig-tree) : but how are we to explain the union where the trees are diverse ? The suggestion arises that it may be due to the use of a pair of fire-sticks, male and female, which might be made from the same tree, or, as was often the case, from two different trees, a hard-wood male tree and a relatively softer female tree. In some such way, then, the idea of the tree-marriage might have been arrived at. The Hindu practice certainly assists the imagination in finding a place for Nanna the Faithful by the side of Balder the Beautiful. It also helps us, by its identification of the *aswatta* tree with Vishnu, to understand better the personifications of the tree-spirit which we have come across in Western folk-lore and mythology.

APPENDIX.

SINCE writing the preceding essay I have received the following interesting communication from a South Devonian who has actually "wassailed" the apple-trees—Mr. P. G. Bond, of Plymouth (a member of the *Plymouth Institution*),—who also reminds me of the prevalence in his youthful days of the custom of cutting the "neck" of the harvest; of this corn-ritual there is much more surviving evidence than for the "wassailing" of the apples. His reminiscence may very well be added to the general folk-lore tradition.

WASSAILING THE APPLE-TREE.

BY P. G. BOND, M.R.C.V.S., PLYMOUTH.

What was no doubt the last flickering remains of this local custom confined to the cider district of the South Hams, in the County of Devon, came under my notice in or about the year 1860, fifty-eight years ago.

I may be said to have taken part in it, although I did not know anything about the custom, its origin, its significance, or its mode of procedure. At the time I was eight years old. The scene was either at an old farm called Henacres Farm, an off-farm of Rack Park Farm in the occupation of my aunt, near Washbrook Mill in the parish of Dodbrooke, or at the mill. I had as schoolfellow a son of the miller, Stephen Cole.

I very frequently spent the Saturday at the mill with him and his family, returning home about 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

The mill apple orchard adjoined the mill; it was entered by a gate from the main road, and also by a gate from the mill yard. The best apple-tree stood about 12 to 15 feet in from the roadway gate. Another apple orchard was in connection with Henacres Farm, and the best and most prolific tree on it was one bearing the apple called the "Royal Red Streak".

On this occasion it was Christmas Eve not Twelfth Eve, of that I am not in doubt. On Christmas Eve there would be usually a good many callers, customers of the miller, and friends of the house; they called to give the compliments of the season and receive them. The drink offered was warmed cider in which were placed baked apples. The cake offered was a good currant cake, there was no deficiency of fruit. The health of the household was drunk, and the health of the apple-trees.

Words said to have been used :—

"Here's a health to the good apple-tree, may we all have cap fulls, pocket fulls, sack fulls," or words to that effect.

I do not remember them myself; the cider cup was passed around to all and sundry with the cake. I do not remember any gun being fired off at the tree; this was a Somersetshire custom, not usually done in Devon. The wassailing died out and did not maintain its hold as did the "crying of the neck".

In a note I made some years ago, I find as follows :—

"I heard the Knack cried in 1865 at Dudbrooke Hills on Cranch's ground, part of Aunt Bond's farm, it was cried by a man called William Hodge who repeated the following words :—

"'We've ploughed and we've sowed, we've reaped and we've mowed. Neck.'" This was said three times, and those looking on walked slowly round a sheaf of corn. The knack was called over the last sheaf of wheat cut on the farm for that harvest.

William Hodge was foreman and horsekeeper at Rack Park Farm, the Home Farm, and at Dodbrooke Henacres Farm.

Cranch's ground where the "neck" was cried was an off-part of the farm. Hodge was the arch priest of the folk-lore.

In looking back so long to pick up the memory of the past, I begin to think I heard more of this old custom and wassailing than I saw of it. I have not any note in connection with it, so I am uncertain. I have heard of it, though, from many a source. My father was born in 1806, my grandfather in 1774, my great-grandfather in 1754, my great-great-grandfather in 1730, my great-great-great-grandfather in 1697, all on farms; all were farmers, and the account of the old custom has been passed on. I have not heard of it during the past fifty-five years.

I regret very much the passing away of the old folk-lore and

legends of the past. On a winter's evening to sit around the old hearth-fire eating apples and drinking warm cider in the fitful light of the burning wood, and where the conversation became general, dulness did not take hold of the company, and tradition was passed on as in the old Icelandic Sagas.

How can we resuscitate English country life with all its old charms fast disappearing ?

Mr. Bond also draws my attention to the following passage in Hawkins' *History of Kingsbridge*, 1819, and shows that it is probably from Hawkins that Lysons obtained the tradition which we have quoted.

Hawkins, *loc. cit.*, pp. 71, 72 :—

"A custom of great antiquity prevails in these districts for the ciderist, on Twelfth Eve, attended by his workmen with a large can or pitcher of cider, guns charged with powder, etc., etc., to repair to the orchard, and there at the foot of one of the best bearing apple-trees drink the following toast three times repeated, discharging the firearms in conclusion :—

Here's to thee,
Old apple-tree,
Whence thou mayst bud,
And whence thou mayst blow,
And whence thou mayst bear
Apples enow,
Hats full!
Caps full!
Bushel bushel sacks full!
And my pockets full, too!
Huzza!

"The pitcher being emptied, they return to the house, the doors of which they are certain to find bolted by the females, who, be the weather what it may, are inexorable to all entreaties to open them till some one has divined what is on the spit which is generally a rarity not thought of, and, if edible, is the reward of him who first names it. The party are then admitted, and the lucky wight who guessed at the roast is recompensed with it."

NORSE MYTH IN ENGLISH POETRY.*

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I.

Tale teller, who twixt fire and snow
Had heart to turn about and show
With faint half smile things great and small
That in thy fearful land did fall,
Thou and thy brethren sure did gain
That thing for which I long in vain,
The spell, whereby the mist of fear
Was melted, and your ears might hear
Earth's voices as they are indeed.

W. Morris, Prefixed to his Translation of the *Eyrbyggja Saga*.

So wrote William Morris, in the preface to his English version of one of the finest sagas of the "fearful land". And his words may serve as a clue to guide us to the heart of our present theme. For no other English poet has felt so keenly the power of Norse myth ; none has done so much to restore its terrible beauty, its heroism, its earth-shaking humour, and its heights of tragic passion and pathos, to a place in our memories, and a home in our hearts.

I say to *restore ;* for it will not be in truth a new gift, but in some sort the recovery of a vanished and forgotten possession. The mythic stories which we call Norse were in great part a common heritage of the Germanic peoples ; and the tale of the Volsungs, which Morris told the other day, had been sung twelve or thirteen hundred years before in the old English epic of *Beowulf*.[1] But between the day

* Based upon a lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 13 March, 1918.

when these tales were last chanted at English feasts, perhaps on the eve of the Conquest, and that on which they were first deciphered again by English antiquaries, lie fully six centuries during most of which they were utterly unknown. We are like kindred parted in infancy to meet again, as perfect strangers, in advanced age. The whole Scandinavian world passed, during those centuries, for almost all literary and even cultural purposes, beyond our ken. Our faces were turned the other way, to France, to Italy ; and the vast arc of northern lands sweeping from Denmark to Iceland, beyond the broad spaces of estranging sea, lay in every sense beyond our horizon. No one dreamed that a poetry and a prose, unsurpassed in their kind in Europe, had grown up in the lonely fastness of the great Atlantic island. A single northern legend did, indeed, towards the end of the period, find its way into our literature, and with such effect that Denmark and Elsinore became points of dazzling brilliance and import in the permanent culture of the world.[2] But the triumphant intrusion of the Hamlet story stands absolutely alone ; and even this solitary though glorious waif of Scandinavia came to us with its Scandinavian character overlaid, if not obliterated, by alien romance elements which certainly helped to commend it to European taste. It is a far cry from the Norse sea-giant Amloth to the mediæval emulator of Livy's Brutus who spoke to the Elizabethans through the ambitious Latinity of Saxo, or the polished French of Belleforest.

But before the beginning of these centuries of complete literary and cultural estrangement, there was at least a lively intercourse between the Northern and the English stems. Some of it was disastrously intimate. The Vikings who swept away the lettered and devout culture of Northumbria in the ninth century were not persuasive heralds of the richer and stronger but still unshaped cosmos of the poetry of the North. But from the time of Alfred onwards, with the permanent settlement of a large tract of England by Scandinavians, more humane relations diversify their encounters. The Old English found that the Norsemen could make a song as well as fight, and that those formidable galleys of theirs were sometimes launched, like the bark of the aged Ulysses, for voyages of exploration not of plunder. We have made analogous discoveries in our own time ; and it is easier to parallel the Norwegian enthusiasms of the later nineteenth century in the tenth than at any intervening date. Just a thousand years before Nansen

came as Norway's ambassador to the English court, another Norwegian explorer, Ohthere, visited Alfred, and kindled the king's quick imagination with the story of his voyage round the North Cape into the Murman region of the White Sea.[3] And one of the most romantic of Viking adventurers, Egil Skallagrimsson, equally renowned as warrior and as singer, became the trusted henchman and warm friend of Athelstane. After doing him yeoman's service in field and counsel, and receiving royal rewards, Egil improvised a Norse panegyric (*drápa*) in his praise at the palace board.[4] Athelstane gave him two gold rings as poet's fee, but there is no hint that any English *scop* who listened to the Icelander's staves thought of emulating in his own tongue their brief, weighty rhythm and bold imagery. A Norse song chanted to the English court—that is the nearest recorded approach to a literary contact between Scandinavia and England before the Conquest ; and even contact so casual and seemingly fruitless as this, becomes more and more inconceivable after it. The new Northmen completed the estrangement of England from the old. The two Germanic civilizations, so profoundly akin despite their deadly encounter, drew definitely apart. England, after a century of tragic and impotent silence, awoke to find herself bound in the web of continental culture, and rudely or childishly emulating strains of its alien song. While Norway and her great island colony had been working out undisturbed the splendid promise of their chaotic and unbridled youth, and creating the great monument at once of their heroic traditions and of their national art, in the Eddas and the Sagas. Iceland has kept even her language almost unchanged to the present day.[5]

" Undisturbed " : that is at bottom the clue to this startling inequality of literary fortune. And it has to be borne in mind if we would appreciate the energy of the impact, when it came, of Norse story upon the imagination of civilized and Romanized Europe. Undisturbed, above all, until the very close of the first millennium after Christ, by the powerful solvent of the Christian faith.[6] The fascinating theory of Bugge, that certain Norse myths are transformations of Christian legends, caught up by the Viking marauders in Christian lands, does not affect the truth of this contention. Christianity, even on that hypothesis, only enriched the pagan myth world without disintegrating it, or lessening its power of resistance. Scandinavia was the last retreat of paganism in the West of Europe, and behind its successive

barriers of sea and mountain and sea again, the faith of Thor and Odin and Walhalla held its ground against the onsurging tide of Christianity. The further we go north and west, the more freely its primeval traditions are unfolded and elaborated—its stories of gods and men, of the beginning of the world and its final doom, of the feats of heroes and their death in battle, crowned by an immortality of feasting in Odin's halls. In Sweden and Denmark paganism was soonest submerged, and has left the fewest and the faintest traces. Norway, in its deepset fiords, guarded a rich treasure of lays and sagas. But the real capital of old Norse literature, as of its republican statecraft, was the great island of fire and snow in the far wastes of the North Atlantic, which might seem destined to be its last and loneliest outpost.

Here, and in Norway, the Christian missionaries won their difficult triumph only after A.D. 1000. And even after the conversion, their sagacity or patriotism saved the myth literature from the fate which almost completely blotted it out elsewhere, and has reduced us in England to attest our primitive paganism by a few empty names—Wednesday and Thursday, Wednesbury and Thoresby, and the legend of Wayland the Smith, and the pre-Christian core of *Beowulf*.

The result was, in the first place, the great collection of lays known as the Older Edda, written partly in Norway in the ninth century, then in Iceland in the tenth and eleventh. They were collected in the thirteenth, and first critically edited at the end of the eighteenth. Secondly, a great mass of songs, still mystic in colouring but arising out of historic occasions. In its extant form the Edda consists of some thirty-five distinct pieces, falling into two nearly equal groups—stories of the gods, and stories of the heroes. A few cognate lays are presented in certain sagas. Three only of these stories have counted as creative or even stimulating forces for English poetry. These are (1) the story of Balder, the beloved son of Odin, treacherously slain by Loki (*Voluspá*, 32, f.); (2) the story of Odin's descent to the underworld to procure his reform (*Baldrs draumar*); (3) the great heroic story of the Volsungs,—of Sigurd the Achilles of the North, and Brynhild, its Medea or Lady Macbeth, and Gudrun and her vengeance for his death (*Grippisspá*, etc.). But several others have powerfully contributed to mould our impressions of the scope and reach of this northern poetry: notably, in the first group, (4) the Sibyl's prophecy (*Voluspá*), a sublime hymn of the beginning and the end of the world,

of which the story of Balder is only an incident; (5) the story of Thor and the giant Skirnir, a huge piece of Aristophanic humour, man making sport of his gods (*Thrymskvitha*); and (6) the great Waking of Angentyr, where Hervor the warrior maid goes to her father's burial mound in the burning island to demand from him the sword which, he knows, will be ruin to her race (*Hervar saga*). Further, from the partly historical class, two must be mentioned: (7) the death-song of Ragnar Lodbrok, a chieftain of the twelfth century, thrown into a pit of serpents (*Krakumál*), and (8) the song of the Norns after the battle of Clontarf (*Darratharljoth*).

From this introductory summary let us now turn to watch the fortunes of these primeval and rugged strangers from the North, with their mysterious and witching beauty, in enlightened and prosperous England, when the youngest of them was already almost half a millenium old.

II.

For the first report of them concurs with the famous Revolution which ushered in Dutch William and Whig government, John Locke and the philosophy of common sense.

Sir W. Temple, the chief agent in the negotiations with William, met Scandinavian scholars in Holland, and read in a northern chronicle in Latin the death-song of Ragnar Lodbrok. Here was something, he thought, fine and heroic among these barbaric peoples; and he made it a text of his Essay, "on Heroic Virtue," 1690; much as Sidney, a century before, had confessed how his heart stirred as with a trumpet at the rude lay of Chevy-chase.[7]

But erudition too, at Oxford in particular, had felt the sting of the new curiosities. The old Germanic world, overlaid and almost obliterated, was beginning to be tracked out and pieced together. Junius, the friend of Milton, was the first thoroughly to master Old English, and his fount of types, bequeathed to the Oxford press, were used to print the first Icelandic grammar, by George Hickes. But Hickes was also the first, in his great *Thesaurus of the Northern Languages*, 1689, to print and translate a Norse poem in English. And fortunately it was one of the grandest of all—the *Waking of Angentyr*.[7a]

Hervor's Incantation, as it is also called, was widely admired, and in 1763 was included with *Ragnar Lodbrok* (No. 7) and three

others by Bishop Percy, the editor of the *Reliques*, in his *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry*. But one better qualified than Percy had already been touching these things to finer issues. About 1760 Thomas Gray made his noble paraphrases, *The Descent of Odin* and *The Fatal Sisters*, the best result of Norse poetic influence which the whole eighteenth century can show. Gray knew something of Icelandic, and his verse comes as near as eighteenth century English could to the brief, pregnant style, the sharp "unmuffled" phrasing of the original. In this Norse poetry he found fulfilled an ideal of poetic writing which he had all his life been feeling after, and it enabled him to strike a new note in English poetry. In the "Spear Song," the original of Gray's *The Fatal Sisters*, we hear the Valkyries, the divine maidens of Odin who gather up the slain after battle, sing their weird Fate song before the battle of Clontarf, where a Norse chief is about to fight with an Irish king. The old image for the making of human fate, as a weaving of a woof, which the Norse notion of Fate shares with the Greek, is here applied with an intense abrupt imaginative power which recalls the Book of Job. "Weave we, weave we, the web of spears!" is the recurring refrain. And in one grim powerful stanza the symbolism of the loom of battle, where the fates of men are wrought, is thrust upon us with remorseless vividness and precision of stroke :—

> This web we are weaving of human entrails,
> And the warp is weighted with heads of men;
> Blood-besprinkled spears be the shafts,
> Iron-bound the stays, and arrows the shuttles;
> With swords we'll thrust close this web of victory.

Such poetry sharply traversed the conventions of English eighteenth century style. Abstract phrase and "glossy" diction could not be further off. But Gray contrived to convey more of it into his English verse than his own antecedents would have seemed to warrant. It fulfilled, clearly, the half-unconscious bent of his own taste, the ideal of a sublime or mysterious matter conveyed with Greek precision. This is how he turns it :—

> See the grisly texture grow!
> ('Tis of human entrails made)
> And the weights that play below
> Each a gasping Warrior's head!

Shafts for shuttles, dipt in gore,
Shoot the trembling cords along.
Sword that once a Monarch bore,
Keep the tissue close and strong.

Gray could not indeed wholly escape the poetic rhetoric of his day. "Sword that once a Monarch bore," or "Shoot the trembling cords along," are still in the vein of this rhetoric. But a phrase like "Shafts for shuttles" has a new ring, caught from the short emphatic alliterating poetry of the North. In such phrases, too, though Gray possibly did not know it, he was recovering the manner of the oldest poetry of his own country, for Old English and Old Norse verse and phrasing were built upon the same plan.[8]

The other piece rendered by Gray, the *Descent of Odin*, takes us yet further into the heart of Norse mythology. It has more of the tragic poignancy of Hervor than of the battle spirit of the spear song. Odin, the greatest of the northern gods, and the most moving and fascinating personality among them, has heard that his son, Balder, is doomed to be slain. He resolves to go down to the nether world and force the buried Sibyl to disclose the secret of his son's fate and what should follow. Here, as in Hervor, it is the father's anxiety for his child that makes the situation dramatic and intense, though it is conveyed, with the reticence of great art, solely through the action, the swift thrust and parry between the urgent god and the reluctant prophetess, without a hint of exclamation or sentiment. All kinds of obstacles beset him. As he rides down towards Niflheim, the hound of Hell, the Cerberus of the North, come out, its jaws dabbled in blood, and bays at the greatest of the gods. But Odin rides on, the earth trembling at his tread, to the eastern gate of Hell's mansion, where the dead Sibyl's mound lay. He utters the spells that wake the dead, until reluctant she rises, and her dead body speaks: "Who is it of mortals to me unknown, that has laid this grievous constraint on me? Snow lay on me, rain beat on me, dew was shed on me: I had long been dead." He tells her that he is one Way-wise, a wanderer (like Ulysses). He sees the preparations for a feast. "For whom," he asks, "are these golden seats prepared?" "Here for Balder," she answers, "the mead is ready. Unwillingly have I spoken: and now I will speak no more." "Speak on, O Sibyl! I will question thee till I know all: this further I would know: Who will become the

slayer of Balder, and take the life of Odin's son?" "Hoder," she answers, "will hold the tall bough of fate (the mistletoe branch which he shot at Balder) and take the life of Odin's son. Unwillingly have I spoken: now will I speak no more." "Speak on, O Sibyl! I will question thee till I know all: this further I would know: Who will avenge the death of Balder, and lay his slayer on the funeral pyre?" She replies that "a child is yet to be born who when one day old will avenge Odin's son; his hands he will wash not, nor comb his hair, till he bear to the pyre the slayer of Balder. Unwillingly have I spoken: now I will speak no more." She seems to have told him all, but the most wonderful touch remains. "Speak on, Sibyl! I will question thee till I know all: this further would I know: Who are the maidens who weep for him, casting up their snoods to heaven?" "Thou art not Way-wise, as I trowed," she burst out, "but thou art Odin, the ancient sire. . . . Ride home, Odin, and glory in thyself; for no man again shall hold discourse with me till Loki breaks loose from his bonds, what time the Destroyers come, at the End of the World."

Gray's version of this, as of the Spear-song, is a noble poem. Without surrendering anything of English poetic instinct, as a quite literal version must have done, he has yet, in contact with this new poetry, enlarged the bounds of English poetic expression. Take the lines in which the Sibyl, roused unwillingly from her death-sleep, meets the intruder:—

> What call unknown, what charms presume
> To break the quiet of the tomb?
> Who thus afflicts my troubled sprite,
> And drags me from the realms of night?
> Long on these mould'ring bones have beat
> The winter's snow, the summer heat,
> The drenching dews, the driving rain!
> Let me, let me sleep again.
> Who is he, with voice unblest,
> That calls me from the bed of rest?

But Gray's Norse studies told also upon his original poetry. Both his two famous Odes, *The Progress of Poesy* and *The Bard*, written about 1755, betray the growing dominance in his mind of the poetry of the primeval peoples, which was now from many sources emerging above the horizon of his generation. That illustrates the

complexity of the literary forces which went to emancipate our poetry from the pseudo-classicism of the Augustans, and to shape the great poetic renascence of the early nineteenth century. For these very Odes were in form the result of an effort to recover the bold imaginative speech and closely ordered structure of the Greek lyric Ode. Gray was, in spite of a certain constitutional timidity and reticence, a discoverer and a pioneer of the highest rank ; not merely because his instinct for new and rare sources of poetic effect was exquisitely delicate and sure, but because he understood perfectly how to attach the new to the old, so that it seemed to grow out of it. His contemporaries, it is true, complained that the Odes were obscure, and Johnson severely blamed his inversions, and other departures from prose order. Yet we can easily recognize that these were criticisms natural to a generation which had forgotten what the language of poetry is. But at the very moment when Gray was thus trying to bring the boldness and splendour, together with the ordered symmetry, of Greek art into English, he had begun to be aware of the treasures of poetry lurking among other ancient peoples, less familiar to us, but nearer both geographically, and in race : the Welsh and the Scandinavian. Hence, in the first Ode, his allusion to the power of poetry

> In climes beyond the solar road
> Where shaggy forms o'er ice-built mountains roam.

But in the second Ode, *The Bard*, there is far more unequivocal witness to the stimulus given by his Norse studies. It has worked creatively. The great Norse manner of song, in which a story, tragic and intense, is not told, but conveyed through the talk of the persons engaged, has helped to fashion this Ode, in which almost all is told by the impassioned prophetic lips of the Bard. But more than that, the very motive of a prophecy delivered has its analogues, as we have seen, both in *Hervor* and in *The Descent of Odin*, while the idea of *The Fatal Sisters* (the Valkyries) weaving the fates of battle, is expressly invoked in the grim refrain which runs through the Bard's prophecy :—

> Weave the warp, and weave the woof.

It is here the slain Bards who are to rise from the dead and avenge their country, and the Bard sees them arise :—

No more I weep. They do not sleep.
On yonder cliffs, a grisly band
I see them sit, they linger yet,
Avengers of their native land:
With me in dreadful harmony they join,
And weave with bloody hands the tissue of thy line,

—just the grim Norse notion of the "red woof" of slaughter woven by the terrible battle-maids, the daughters of Odin.

Gray's "runic" poems appeared in 1768, and fairly started the Norse vogue. Solid help was provided, nearly at the same time, to the growing host of dilettante admirers and imitators, by the translation in 1770 of Mallet's *Introduction to the History of Denmark.* Mr. Farley, of Harvard,[9] has shown that a flood of forgotten translations and adaptations poured from the press during the next fifty years. It rang the changes on, especially, the lay of Hervor and Lodbrok; less often on Odin, Thor, Balder, and The Twilight of the Gods. A great part of the Edda was translated, with solid merit, by the Hon. W. Herbert.[10] The fashion ran to seed. The sublimity of Norse heroics was in danger of toppling over into the ridiculous, and those feasts in Valhalla once felt so thrilling, where drink was quaffed in the skulls of enemies, became a standing jest.[11] Several distinguished men of letters, it is true, found their good, incidentally, in Norse myth. Scott puts a song of Harald Harfager in the mouth of Halcro in *The Pirate.* Landor cast an episode from the *Gunnlangs Saga* into his marmoreal verse. W. L. Bowles, a Tory clergyman, indicted a hymn to the heathen Wodan; Southey hoped to write a "Runic song"; and George Borrow, doughtiest of translators, rendered passably the kindred Danish ballads (1826).

III.

But to create new and noble poetry out of the Norse stories was reserved for the second half of the nineteenth century, and for three men, utterly unlike in genius, temper, and line of approach—Matthew Arnold, Robert Buchanan, and William Morris. The first two owed little but their material to Norse myth. Arnold, like his Greek, in the *Grande Chartreuse* is "thinking of his own gods" as he stands "beside the northern strand," and his *Balder Dead,* though a noble poem, is noble in the Homeric, not the Eddic way. And if Arnold

is antique, Buchanan is defiantly modern. His *Balder the Beautiful* (1877) is an old wine-skin filled with new wine, the heady vintage of a fervid Scot who turned the story of Odin's son into an epic of the suffering and sacrificed Christ, and ostentatiously disclaimed indebtedness to the vulgar myths of the Edda. William Morris, on the other hand, was, as we know, a devoted, even a fanatical, lover of northern story and of the northern land. And his own elemental grandeur and simplicity of nature made him more instinctively and easily at home there than either the fastidious Hellenist or the neo-theologian could ever have become.

Moreover, Morris devoted his most sustained poetic labour in this field to the story which was at once the most neglected among us, and the most rich and various in its scope and movement, the grandest in its tragic intensity, of all the stories of the North, perhaps even of the world. And his *Sigurd the Volsung* is, when all reserves have been made, a great and splendid poem, the one adequate presentment to-day in English of the story which Wagner has so magnificently clothed for the world in the universal language of music. On all these grounds it is by far the most significant result in our poetry of the influence of Norse myths, and it will be not unfitting that it should occupy us for the remainder of this discourse.

The story of Sigurd and Brynhild is, strictly, only the kernel or nucleus of the story of the Volsungs, as told in the Edda and in the prose Volsung saga based upon it. It is preceded and followed by two story groups of distinct character and lesser value, the one—which we may call the antecedent story—telling his youth and early feats and the career of his father Sigmund, the other—the sequel story—the vengeance for his death.

Heroism is the ground tone of all three. But the antecedent story moves among primeval figures, with more of elemental and subhuman forces in them and less of man. There are dwarfs and giants, and you can change into a beast, or a dragon at will. Sigmund is more dæmonic, less human, than Sigurd ; dæmonic too is his sister Signy, who, fearful lest the Volsung race should die out, takes the shape of another woman, seeks out her brother, and, unrecognized, bears him a son ; dæmonic, no less, this son, Sinfjötli,—a marvellous, uncanny child, who at ten does fabulous feats, as becomes one who is of Volsung stock on both sides.

In the sequel story, on the other hand, primeval myth recedes, and we are on the borders of history. When Sigurd has been slain by his wife's brothers, Gudrun marries Attila, the Hun king of the fifth century ; Attila invites them to his court, and they and all their retinue perish in a great battle in his hall, after which Gudrun takes her own life.

The kernel story is of finer stuff than these. It has not only heroism but tragedy ; not only colossal daring or ruthless revenge, but love and hate in conflict and in league. It will suffice to recall the crucial situations and moments. There is (1) Sigurd's discovery of the Valkyrie Brynhild, on the wild mountain top, Hyndfell, where she has been laid asleep by Odin, within a wall of flames which the man who would win her must break through. They plight troth, exchange rings, and part. (2) Sigurd's reception at the court of the Niblung kings on the Rhine, the magic potion given him by their crafty mother which obliterates the memory of Brynhild, and his marriage with their sister Gudrun. (3) Sigurd's second visit to Brynhild, still oblivious of the past, to help Gunnar, the eldest of the kings, to win her for his wife. When Gunnar's horse will not face the flames, Sigurd assumes his likeness, enters her bower, and receives from her, as Gunnar, the ring, his own, which she may not refuse to the man who penetrates her fire-wall. (4) The marriage of Gunnar and Brynhild, and their life, full of sinister presage, side by side with Sigurd and Gudrun, in Gunnar's palace. (5) The quarrel of the two queens by the river side ; when Brynhild taunts Gudrun with being the wife of Gunnar's serving-man, and Gudrun retorts that it was this serving-man, not Gunnar, who had crossed the flame-wall, and won her hand, in Gunnar's name, and received her ring, and she shows her the ring. (6) Brynhild's vengeance for her betrayal by her first lover. In one last consummate scene with her, Sigurd tries all possible solutions : her love will not be tempted nor her hate appeased.[12] Then she compels the unwilling Gunnar to take his life. He is slain in Gudrun's arms, and when Gudrun's shriek is heard, a wild laugh rings out in the court,—the laugh of a woman who has triumphed but whose heart is broken ; she plunges the dagger into her breast, and her body and Sigurd's, united at last, are burnt on the same pyre.

Such, in bald summary, was the complex Volsung story : a German legend blended, by steps we can only in part decipher, with Norse

myth. And as the kernel was German, so to Germany belong, apart from the Eddic lays, its most splendid embodiments in art : the twelfth century *Nibelungenlied*, the *Nibelungen* trilogy of Hebbel, and the *Ring der Nibelunge* of Wagner. Of these I must say no more here than that the poet of the *Nibelungenlied* softens and humanizes the mythic and savage elements ; ignores in particular the first meeting of Sigurd and Brynhild, thus completely changing the character of their relations ; and invests the whole with the manners and the atmosphere of the feudal and chivalrous age in which he lived. While Wagner, glorying in myth as the century of Jakob Grimm had learnt to do, fearlessly draws gods and demons, dwarfs and dragons into the magic sphere of his music drama. And this, too, was the way of William Morris.[13]

IV.

Morris's close concern with the North did not begin with his work upon *Sigurd*, but it was then still comparatively recent. Iceland was not his first love. His first poems, of 1858, are steeped in French and Celtic romance, in Froissart and Malory ; the gracious charm of French cathedrals and chateaux, and of tapestry and metal work, had captured the artist in him, and they never lost their hold. Northern stories are told, alongside Greek or eastern ones, by the mariners of the *Earthly Paradise*, eleven years later ; and these included the great story of *Gudrun's Lovers* from the Laxdæla saga, where the very situation of Sigurd and Brynhild—the lover slain by the woman who loves him, by the hand of her unloved husband—reappears, translated into terms of the feuds of Icelandic farmers in the thirteenth century.

But here, too, Iceland, like Greece, shimmers through an atmosphere of delicate artistry and gracious romance. Then came a great, decisive experience. In 1871, two years after the *Earthly Paradise*, three years before *Sigurd*, he visited Iceland for the first time. His notes of this journey vividly reflect the deep impression it made on him :—

" I have seen many marvels, he writes, and some terrible pieces of country ; slept in the home field where Bolli [the Gunnar of the Laxdæla story] was killed. . . . I was there yesterday, and from its door you see a great sea of terrible, inky mountains tossing about ; there has

been a most wonderful sunset this evening that turned them golden though." [13a]

And how it transformed his conception of the events and persons :—

"Such a dreadful place," he says of Grettir's lair, "that it gave quite a new turn in my mind to the story, and transfigured Grettir into an awful and monstrous being, like one of the early giants of the world."

Two years later, in 1873, he went again, and the land impressed him with a sense of "almost sacramental solemnity".

We can understand, then, that this experience threw a new and transforming light upon the Volsung story also, which already in 1870 he had proclaimed to be one of the great stories of the world, destined to be to our race what the tale of Troy "was to the Greeks, and to those who came after, when our race has vanished, no less than the tale of Troy is to us".

But these impressions, powerful as they were, did not and could not sweep away Morris's long and rich experience as a poet and artist in many fields. He was in the full maturity of a genius tenacious as well as receptive, and the old familiar joys were not obliterated because the new and fiercer joys broke across them. They were only momentarily put to flight, like birds at the coming of storm, to return full of song again when it is over. The Morris who has seen "the fearful land," and that "great sea of terrible inky mountains tossing about" is there all the time and we never forget him for long. But there, too, is Morris the lover of old France, and Morris the weaver of tapestry and experimenter in dye ; there even, in germ, is Morris the socialist orator, by and by, at London street-corners, the great-hearted herald and builder of a new Utopia. Brynhild's wild, flame-girt, mountain bower is of the fearful land of fire and snow ; but when she has descended to her sister's house in the dale, her dwelling is some manor-house of Touraine or Kent, embowered in its gardens and orchards :—

A builded burg arising amid the leafy trees.

The close is full of fruit, the garden of roses and lilies ; doves flutter about the roofs ; and in the soaring turrets the casements stand open to the summer breeze. The Niblung burg, again, where Gunnar and Gudrun dwell, is a mediæval town such as Iceland never knew, with a ring of many towers standing up "stark and sharp and cold" above

a grim old girdling wall "dark red and worn, and ancient," and the smoke of many dwellers rising over it.

Morris the art-worker, too, finds or makes his opportunities. He likes to tell us not merely, like your mere literary poet, what things looked like, but how they were made. The saga tells simply that the halls had a golden roof; Morris, not content, adds that there were silver nails in the door. His furniture is of rare and costly materials, and cunningly wrought. When the young Sigurd goes to his uncle's hall, he finds him sitting in a chair of walrus-tusk, and his robe is of mountain gold, and the floor of the hall sea-green, and his royal staff tipped with a crystal knob. The forging of Sigurd's sword ("The Wrath of Sigurd") is full of the zest of the metal-worker.[14] We know, too, that Morris was experimenting with blue dye while engaged on the poem; he tells us in his letters that he often wrote with blue hands, and some of the blue seems, in fact, to have come off on to the poetry. Blue is the colour of every one's best clothes. The Niblung warriors are blue-clad. When Gudrun goes with her maids to visit Brynhild, they put on their dark-blue gear, and Brynhild rises to meet them from a throne covered with dark-blue cloth. And at night they sleep on dark-blue bolsters. Even the Valkyrie Brynhild's awesome, fire-girt bower, built by Odin on Hyndfell, has been provided by a thoughtful upholsterer with a bed and bolster of blue.[15]

If Morris the art-worker found his opportunities, Morris the socialist was, if not made, certainly nourished and stimulated by what he saw in Iceland. The republican society of which he read in the sagas, where the greatest chief might be met in his hay-field tedding his hay, had already attracted his interest, and begun to thrust social questions and problems to the fore in his mind. Thus the curse that lies upon the land of the Volsungs is conceived not as a pestilence, or an unappeasable blood feud, but simply as the present state of society, the economic system founded on labour and capital, under which we live. So that when the curse is removed,

> Men's hearts are fulfilled of joyance; and they cry, the sun shines now
> With never a curse to hide it, and they shall reap that sow!
>
> (p. 53).

And when Sigurd goes forth to battle with his new kinsfolk the Niblungs, his victory will bring in the reign of social equality:—

> —the lowly man exalted, and the mighty brought alow:

And when the sun of summer shall come aback to the land,
It shall shine on the fields of the tiller that fears no heavy hand;
The sheaf shall be for the plougher, and the loaf for him that sowed,
Through every furrowed acre where the son of Sigmund rode.

V.

But it was not as yet the society which chiefly attracted him in Iceland, or worked creatively on his imagination. It was, of course, above all the great Volsung story itself, its heroic and tragic intensity, and its savage and dæmonic horror. But it was also the scenery, the wild tossing of those "terrible inky mountains"; and it was, not less, the grave, melancholy wisdom, penetrated with foreboding and the sense of doom in earthly things, which rises like an emanation, from the lips of this tragic humanity in the midst of this stern nature, at hours of crisis, or in the last encounter with death. Let us see first what Morris's Iceland looks like when his eye is really on it.

There is "a desert of dread in the uttermost part of the world,"

Where over a wall of mountains is a mighty water hurled,
Whose hidden head none knoweth, nor where it meeteth the sea;
And behind the green arch of the waterfall as it leaps sheer from the cliff,
The hush of the desert is felt amid the water's roar,
And the bleak sun lighteth the wave-vault, and tells of the fruitless plain,
And the showers that nourish nothing, and the summer come in vain.

That is the haunt of the dwarf Andvari, who guards the fateful treasure of the Niblungs. And here is Brynhild's Hyndfell. Sigurd is riding towards it. For days he rides through this desert, longing in vain for the dwellings of man and the joyance of human speech. At length, one dawn,

From out of the tangled crag-walls, amidst the cloudland grey
Comes up a mighty mountain, and it is as though there burns
A torch amidst of its cloud-wreath.

He rides on, and at noon it is covered with clouds. Then, as the day wears, the winds rise and disperse the clouds,

And, lifted a measureless mass o'er the desert cragwalls high,
Cloudless the mountain riseth against the sunset sky . . .
And the light that afar was a torch is grown a river of fire,
And the mountain is black above it, and below it is dark and dim,
And there is the head of Hindfell, as an island in the sun.

(p. 155).

But even in the southern type of scenery hints of this Icelandic desolation and awe at moments intrude. Thus hard by the Niblung burg is "a black pool huge and awful, unfathomable, and lined with dark sheer crags" (p. 339).

And when the men and women who lived amid these scenes uttered their thoughts about life and death, it was in a sense which appealed powerfully to Morris, so that he would gladly have made it his own,—a kind of intuitive and untaught philosophy, the philosophy of brave men, unconscious of Christianity, untouched by Christian hopes. "What a glorious outcome of the worship of courage these stories are!" he once wrote after re-reading Njála, the greatest of them. And then, to another correspondent: "It may be that the world shall worsen . . . and Evil break loose . . . and like the kings and heroes . . . also the gods must die, who made that imperfect earth. . . . Sometimes we think that we must live again; yet if that were not, would it not be enough that we helped to make this unnameable glory and lived not altogether heedless? This seems to me pretty much the religion of the Northmen."

And this is the temper of the wisdom that Morris has put into the mouth of his Valkyria Brynhild, in the great troth-plighting scene with Sigurd on Hyndfell. He did not find it in his source. Her "wisdom" in the corresponding saga scene is of later origin and represents on the whole a sound prudential morality. She bids him avoid the wiles of women, and drunken brawlers, beware of provoking feuds, and see that the dead have decent burial: ideas quite out of keeping with the magnificent contempt of life which inspires Sigurd's reply in the genuine stanza just before, to her warning that their love will mean their doom:—

> I will not fly, though death be my fate,
> Born I was not to blench;
> All I would have is to love thee only
> As long as my life shall last.

And so, in company with Achilles, but against all the moralists, he chooses a brief existence of supreme bliss instead of many days of common-place ease. And it is in the spirit of this choice of Sigurd's that Morris has framed the wisdom of his own Brynhild. In these lines, for instance, he has nobly expressed the great thought that heroism and courage are vital to the life of the universe—that they are the

sustaining powers that keep the fabric of the world from tottering to its fall :—

Know thou, most mighty of men, that the Norns shall order all,
And yet without thine helping shall no whit of their will befall ;
And the night of the Norns, and their slumber, and the tide when the world runs back,
And the way of the sun is tangled, it is wrought of the dastard's lack ;
But the day when the fair earth blossoms, and the sun is bright above,
Of the daring deeds is it fashioned and the eager hearts of love.
(p. 163).

Nor does she warn him, in the spirit of Polonius, to keep out of quarrels. She bids him act where need calls, and then neither repent his action nor exult in it, but *abide* it ; and then he will be enthroned above all the chances of time,

And look on to-day and to-morrow as those that never die.

And how did Morris handle these deeds and sufferings themselves ? How did he shape and present them as an artist ? Here, too, there is no doubt, Iceland had her way with him ; he felt the spell of her story tellers no less than of her makers of story. And it was strong enough to make him defy very deep-rooted and authoritative canons of art. The great tradition of epic poetry would have bidden him concentrate upon the supreme central phase of the story ; the subject of the *Iliad* is not the siege of Troy, but an episode in its last years ; the action of the *Odyssey* covers six weeks, that of *Paradise Lost*, from the waking in Hell to the expulsion from Eden, need not be more than a few days. Fastidious poetic artists, like his French contemporaries Leconte de Lisle and Sully Prudhomme, had taken a single poignant moment—the death of Sigurd and Brynhild's terrible laugh, the waking of Angentyr or the slaying of Hjartan, and carved it in the flawless marble or onyx of their verse. But Morris, like the German poet Hebbel, whose *Nibelungen* trilogy had appeared thirteen years before (1862), felt, with the old saga writer, the grandeur of the whole cycle of lays, the story not of Sigurd only but of the House of the Volsungs—his forbears and his progeny—and he put the whole cycle into his poem. It moves before us like a vast piece of tapestry such as Morris may have been weaving as he made it, for no poet, he declared, was worth anything who could not make an epic while he wove —where everything that belongs to the story is naïvely put into it,

men and gods, trees and beasts, the human and subhuman, the tragic and grotesque. Every moment and incident has for him its own kind of power and value, and he accepts and renders it with the same large-hearted and equable serenity. This did not always tend to propitiate his readers. Victorian England, for which Tennyson had veiled in distant and awestruck allusion the incestuous birth of Arthur, was disconcerted to read at the very outset the primeval loves of Sigmund and Signy told at length; and his friend Rossetti angrily derided Fafnir's transformation into a dragon as "silly," provoking a drastic retort from "Topsy". Even in Wagner the dragon has tried the patience of the unelect.

VI.

Nevertheless, the enduring interest of Morris's *Sigurd*, as of Wagner's *Niebelungen Ring*, must rest mainly upon the tragic and lyric power of the great central scenes. Here, again and again, the equable flow of Morris's verse becomes close knit and weighty in answer to the grip of the situation. When Brynhild, for instance, coming into Gunnar's hall, as his bride, sees one far surpassing the Niblung brother, seated beside them, and is told that it is Sigurd, once her betrothed, she addresses him with a greeting full of restrained passion under the courtly words :—

> All grief, sharp scorn, sore longing, stark death in her voice he knew,
> But gone forth is the doom of the Norns, and what shall he answer thereto . . .

And he replies, with anguish no less resolutely kept down :—

> She heard and turned to Gunnar as a queen that seeketh her place,
> But to Gudrun she gave no greeting, nor beheld the Niblung's face.

Then the discovery scene, in the river, where Brynhild suddenly wading deeper in, Gudrun cries :—

> Why wadest thou so
> In the deeps and upper waters, and wilt leave me here below?
> Then e'en as one transfigured loud Brynhild cried and said;
> So oft shall it be between us at hall and board and bed; . . .
> E'en so shall the gold cloths lap me, when we sit in Odin's hall,
> While thou shiverest, little hidden, by thy lord the Helper's thrall,
> By the serving man of Gunnar, who all his bidding doth,

And waits by the door of the bower, while his master plighteth the troth.
But my mate is the King of the Kingfolk who rode the Wavering Fire,
And mocked at the ruddy death to win his heart's desire.

. . . . . .

It is well, O ye troth-breakers! there was found a man to ride
Thro' the waves of my Flickering Fire to lie by Brynhild's side.

Then no word answered Gudrun till she waded up the stream
And stretched forth her hand to Brynhild, and thereon was a golden gleam;

. . . . . .

White waxed the face of Brynhild as she looked on the glittering thing:
And she spake: "By all thou lovest, whence haddest thou the ring?"
And she turns on the mocking Gudrun "as one who clutches a knife".

And Gudrun tells the deadly secret.

"I had the ring O Brynhild, on the night that followed the morn,
When the semblance of Gunnar left thee in thy golden hall forlorn."

. . . . . .

For he cloaked him in Gunnar's semblance and his shape in Gunnar's hid:

. . . . . .

Thus he wooed the bride for Gunnar, and for Gunnar rode the fire,
And he held thy hand for Gunnar, and lay by thy dead desire.
We have known thee for long, O Brynhild, and great is thy renown;
In this shalt thou joy henceforward, and nought in thy nodding crown.

Now is Brynhild wan as the dead, and she openeth her mouth to speak,
But no word cometh outward. . . .

Then follows the long, bitter brooding of Brynhild in ever deepening gloom, and the great scene where Sigurd seeks her out, and begs for her love despite the bonds which bind them both elsewhere. Like the sun-god he shines upon her despair, radiant with the temper that looks eagerly to the future and will not succumb to the past:—

Awake, arise, O Brynhild! for the house is smitten thro'
With the light of the sun awakened, and the hope of deeds to do.

But all hope is fled from her.

And she cried: "I may live no longer, for the gods have forgotten the earth,
And my heart is the forge of sorrow, and my life is a wasting dearth."

Then once again spoke Sigurd, once only and no more:
A pillar of light all golden he stood on the sunlit floor;
And his eyes were the eyes of Odin, and his face was the hope of the world,

. . . . . .

And he cried: "I am Sigurd the Volsung, and belike the tales shall be true,
That no hand on the earth may hinder what my hand would fashion and do:

. . . . . .

O live, live, Brynhild beloved! and thee on the earth will I wed,
And put away Gudrun the Nibling,—and all those shall be as the dead."
(But his breast so swelled within him that the breastplate over it burst,)
And he saw the eyes of Brynhild, and turned from the word she spake:
"*I will not wed thee, Sigurd, nor any man alive.*"

A great line, terrible in its naked simplicity, preluding the ruin which she is about to bring upon them both. Then, after the death of Sigurd, Brynhild's own end. Her vengeance is over; Sigurd, her victim, is now to be her bridegroom and she his bride. She arrays herself, like the dying Cleopatra, in her royal robes, and her face no more is wan; then thrusts the blade into her breast, and delivers her last charge to Gunnar helplessly standing by:—

"I pray thee a prayer, the last word in the world I speak,
That ye bear me forth to Sigurd, and the hand my hand would seek.
And lay his sword, 'the blade that frighted death,'
Betwixt my side and Sigurd's as it lay that while agone,
When once in one bed together we twain were laid alone:
How then when the flames flare upward may I be left behind?
How then may the road he wendeth be hard for my feet to find?
How then in the gates of Valhall may the door of the gleaming ring
Clash to on the heels of Sigurd, as I follow on my king?"

With that magnificent cry of triumph in death, like Cleopatra's "Husband, I come!" I close.

Morris's *Sigurd* can hardly be counted among the supreme poems of English literature. The facile troubadour eloquence of the born romancer was too deeply engrained in him to admit, save at rare moments, the rigour and the economy of great style. If we are to compare the style of Sigurd with that of any of the great epics of the world, it is plainly not with the subtle and compressed manner, or the high-wrought harmonies of Vergil or Milton, that we must place its easy, spontaneous flow. Nor, save for its spontaneous flow, does it recall the simpler art of Homer. The simplicity of Homer goes with a flawless clarity of outline and a limpid speech which fits the meaning.

What, then, has Norse myth and its influence meant for English poetry? Two things:—

(1) It brought to the cognizance of our eighteenth century poets, who up to 1760, with all their brilliant accomplishment in oratorical, expository, and satiric verse, knew neither how to sing a song nor to tell a story, a new and noble poetry of which song and story were the

vital breath and blood. Percy's *Reliques* were still to come, and Burns was but just born : only the greatest of the old ballads and of Burns' songs can match the finest Eddic lays in power, or in exemption from the vicious diction of the age. The nineteenth century had learnt, long before William Morris, to sing ; but its mastery of *story* in verse, on a grand scale, was still faltering and uncertain. Tennyson, Byron, are great in single scenes, episodes, idylls, but cannot shape a larger whole. Morris, when all deductions have been made, has left us the nearest approach to great epic made in our time.

(2) The Norse influence brought into a society fastidiously refined, or sordidly gross, or good-humouredly prosaic, the tonic spectacle of a humanity which was in some indefinable way, great, simple, heroic, where colossal things were dared and suffered, and the gods were never far off. And if our own age is more complex, more experienced, more rich with the intellectual spoils and the spiritual treasures of the world, it has learned to see only the more clearly and comprehensively, this elemental poetry, where Life, and Death, and Love, the eternal themes of all poetry, are thought of in so great and simple a way, and where beauty, the beauty begotten of a "fearful land," and only possible there, is so superbly wrung from fear.

NOTES.

[1] (p. 75) *Beowulf*, 885 f. It is unimportant for the present purpose that the scene of the recital of the Volsung song, is laid in a Scandinavian land ; the story was in any case made his own by an Anglian poet. The story of Beowulf itself is well known to have Scandinavian analogues ; but the evidence does not justify us in reckoning it the first (and one of the greatest) examples of Scandinavian literary influence by assigning it to a Scandinavian source.

The Volsung story as told in *Beowulf* differs from other versions in making Sigmund, not Sigurd his son, slay the dragon, and win deathless glory thereby. Müllenhoff peremptorily dismisses this as a perversion of the original story. But it has to be remembered that it emerges centuries earlier than any other version.

[2] (p. 76) This is consistent with the occasional quotation of a story from Saxo. Thus Nashe in *Piers Pennilesse* tells from this source the gruesome story of the two friends Asmundus and Asuitus, one of whom insists on being buried in the other's grave, and is found, some days after, mutilated by the corpse ;—a mixture of romance and horror quite in the Elizabethan vein.

[3] (p. 77) Inserted by Alfred into his translation of Orosius's *History of the World*, reproduced in Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader III*, and elsewhere.

[4] (p. 77) *Egils saga Skallagrimssoner*, c. 55. Much other Norse poetry was, of course, composed on English soil; but it was intended for Norse, not for English, ears. The Scandinavian kings of the tenth and eleventh centuries all had fighting singers in their train; some of them invaded England, and had their battles, or their death, thus commemorated then and there. Thus Thjodolf Arnorsson sang the battle of Stamford Bridge (1066), and the death of his master, King Harald, after fighting in it himself. Egil Skallagrimsson's own most famous poem, *Hofudlausn* (*Corp. Poet. Bor.*, I, 266), was composed in a York prison, as the price of his life. It is needless here to notice the contention of Vigfússon that a great part of the Norse poetic literature was actually composed in these islands. He stood practically alone in this view.

[5] (p. 77) Egil Skallagrimsson, who praised Athelstane, could have understood without great difficulty the praise of Shakespeare written two years ago, in the same measure, by the veteran Icelandic poet Matthias Jochumsson, for the *Book of Shakespeare Homage*. It arrived too late to appear there and was separately published (*Ultima Thule Sendeth Greetings:* Univ. of Oxford Press, 1916).

[5a] (p. 79) Though often translated and always admired, the Waking has inspired no notable poetry in English. Leconte de Lisle rendered it finely in *L'Epée d'Angentyr* (*Poèmes Barbares*). A notice of it is subjoined in Appendix I.

[6] (p. 77) Sophus Bugge, *Studies on the Origin of the Scandinavian Stories of Gods and Heroes*, Christiania, 1881-9. *The Heroic Poems in the Older Edda*, *ibid.*, 1896. The latter is translated by W. H. Schofield (*The Home of the Eddic Poems*, London, 1899). A good brief discussion is given by H. Gering, *Die Edda*, Introd.

[7] (p. 79) W. P. Ker, *The Literary Influence of the Middle Ages* (*Camb. Lit. History*, Vol. X, Chapter X), to which this section is otherwise indebted.

[8] (p. 81) It is interesting to remember that when Gray's lay was published in 1768, it was read by a clergyman in the Orkneys to the peasants there. After a few lines they said they knew it in Norse and had often sung it to him when he asked them to recite an old song. Scott, *Pirate*, XV.

[9] (p. 84) *Harvard Studies*, Vol. IX, 1903.

[10] (p. 84) *Select Icelandic Poetry*, 1804. Byron notices him in the *English Bards*:—

> Herbert shall wield Thor's hammer, and sometimes
> In gratitude thou'lt praise his rugged rhymes.

[11] (p. 84) It was based on a curious misunderstanding, "crooked boughs of skulls" being merely a poetic periphrasis for drinking horns.

[12] (p. 86) Of this scene, as known to us through the prose of the saga, Andrew Lang wrote (*Homer and the Epic*, p. 396, quoted by Professor Ker, *The Dark Ages*, p. 282): "Homer has no such scene, no such ideas. The mastery of love in Brunhild's heart, her scene with Sigurd, where he ranges through every choice before them, to live as friends, to live as lovers, her disdainful rejection of friendship, her northern pride of purity, his anguish,

her determination to stay and follow him . . . all this is mere perfection, all is on the loftiest level of Shakespeare, and has no parallel in Greek or Roman poetry." This and several other crucial scenes, are known to us unfortunately only from the prose paraphrase, the corresponding verse having belonged to the lost leaves of the great Edda MS.

[13] (p. 87) On the German development of the story see Appendix II.

[13a] (p. 88) *Journals of Travel in Iceland*, 1871.

[14] (p. 89) The forging of this sword, called "The Wrath of Sigurd," suggests comparison with the famous Homeric making of the shield of Achilles; Morris's love of showing how things are done and made, his insight into arts and crafts, is in fact a Homeric trait. All the famous writers of epic before him, Virgil, Tasso, Milton—were men of letters whose only artistry was verse: Morris alone was craftsman as well as poet. It is true that the motive of Morris's forging scene is not only, like Homer's, the craftsman's art; Regin, the Northern Vulcan, is "Master of the Masters in the smithying craft," but he is also cunning with all the cunning of the dwarf race, and does his best to cheat the boy of the sword he has promised him: so when it is tried on the anvil it shivers into fragments. The scene is thus tense with drama; but we feel the craftsman's instinct in the vivid rendering of that fierce exposure of the fraud: Sigurd bids Regin try the finished weapon:

> Then Regin trembled and shrank, so bright his eyes outshone
> As he turned about to the anvil, and smote the sword thereon;
> But the shards fell shivering earthward, and Sigurd's heart grew wroth
> As the steel flakes tinkled about him: "Lo, there the right hand's troth!"

There is a closer parallel to the Homeric shield with its inwrought basreliefs of Greek life, in the description of Brynhild's weaving (Morris's special craft) of a golden web, with all the feats of Sigurd wrought in it. And he does not forget to tell us that the weaver of the glittering gold is seated on cloths of dark-blue (p. 186).

[15] (p. 89) Blue is frequent in the early art of man; but Morris's turn for it was derived from artistry not archæology.

APPENDIX I.

The Waking of Angentyr.

The *Waking of Angentyr* is one of the pieces which reflect most distinctly the savage grandeur and the volcanic terrors of Iceland. In poetic greatness, as in concentrated power of style, it surpasses anything in Old English. Hervor, daughter of the dead hero Angentyr has come across the sea to the island where her father lies buried, to wake him from his death-sleep and demand of him the magic sword Tyrfing, forged by the dwarfs, her heritage. It is a sinister heirloom, fraught with disaster to her race, and the girl's quest, like Childe Roland's in Browning, is at once heroic and tragic, an undaunted thrusting on towards an end which, she knows, means her doom. And as only in the tragedies of the primitive myth world, and as in that wonderful fantasia on them, *Childe Roland* itself, all the earth and heaven, man and nature, appears as grim onlookers at the tragic action filling the whole scene with bodeful or mocking voices and appalling visions. Nothing is indifferent.

The whole story is told in brief pregnant dialogue, with barely a line or two of narrative. "At sunset in Munarvoe the young maid met a shepherd with a flock." A weird haunting picture in itself. The shepherd bids her turn back and seek shelter. She scornfully refuses, and asks the way to the burial mounds. He is horror-struck. "Ask me not that, thou art in evil case! Let us run thence fast as feet can carry us: for out of doors all is awesome to men's eyes." She offers him gifts to guide her. But the richest gifts would not keep him from rushing home. For all the island is ablaze with flames; the graves are opening, field and fen are all alight. "What of that," quoth Hervor; "though all the island be aflame, we must not let the dead men scare us so soon: we have to parley with them." And so the shepherd speeds away to the woods, but "greater grows at the stress of peril the close-knit heart in the breast of Hervor". She comes to the grave mound and calls aloud to her father through the flames: "Wake thou, Angentyr! It is Hervor thy only daughter that bids thee wake! Give me the sword out of the grave which the Dwarfs forged." There is no answer. She turns to scoff at all the buried chiefs. "Surely ye are become heaps of dust since ye will not answer me." And she calls again, and curses their obstinacy. At last Angentyr unwillingly replies: "Hervor, daughter, why dost thou call and curse? Thou art walking to thy doom: mad art thou grown, and wild of wit that thou wakenest the dead?" She answers sharply: "I was ever held to be like other mortals till I came hither in search of thee: give me the sword!" He pretends that it is not there; for foemen

buried him and kept Tyrfing. Let her hurry back to her ship out of the flames while she may. She only answers by threatening to lay spells on them so that they would rot and be really dead. At last he confesses that the magic sword lies under him, all wrapped about with fire, and no maid on earth dares brandish it. "I care nothing for the burning fire, the flame sinks before my eyes." And when she rushes forward towards the fire to clasp it, he thinks only of saving her and gives her the sword: "for I cannot deny thee, thou young maiden!" She breaks into an exulting cry: "Well hast thou done, O Viking chief; me sees a happier lot is mine than if I had conquered all Norway". But the father answers sadly and scornfully: he knows that her joy is vain and the prelude to doom. "Thou knowest not, daughter, whereat thou rejoicest: hapless are thy words. Thou shalt bear a son who shall wield Tyrfing, and it shall be the ruin of all thy race." "Little I reck how my sons may quarrel, the daughter of kings is of high heart." And she speeds away with a last greeting to the dead in the mound. But now, like Lady Macbeth, after the crisis she knows what she has gone through. "Truly I felt between life and death, she mutters, when all around me the fires were burning!"

APPENDIX II.

The German and the Northern Versions of the Volsung Story.

In the German epic the complex story has an artistic unity which it has not in the North: on the other hand, the primitive sublimity of the tale has been attenuated along with its primitive paganism; we are reading a romance of adventure, reflecting the Christianized manners, the brilliant court life, and the chivalry, of the Minnesinger age. Instead of the Valkyrie on the wild fell top, only to be won by riding through the ring of flames, Brynhild is a princess in a palace, overcome by cunning in a test of strength. The whole is more concentrated and better organized. In particular, the antecedent story of Gudmund and Signy, so loosely attached to that of Sigurd, and so deeply tinged with the savage grandeur of the pagan age, falls away altogether, and had probably quite faded out of the German tradition. The sequel story, on the other hand, receives a new and powerful motive, which for the first time knits it close to the story of Sigurd. For it becomes now the story of Gudrun's vengeance upon her brothers for the murder of her passionately loved lord. Whereas in the Northern version, Gudrun's marriage to Atli begins a new chapter in a story already complete; and Atli's treacherous attack on Gunnar is motived not by vengeance for Sigurd, but by hunger for the treasure he has won. Gudrun's passion of grief for the glorious hero she has lost is incomparably rendered in the northern poems; but they have nothing parallel to the terrible heroine of the Second Part of the *Nibelungenlied*, transformed by her loss from a tender woman into a pitiless avenger, insatiable in her consuming anger until the last of her guilty kinsmen is dead. The central story, on the other hand, has in the German version been impoverished by the loss of its most potent trait. Brynhild and Sigurd have had no earlier meeting on Hyndfell, no exchange of vows nor of rings. Hence, when he helps Gunnar to win her by personating him in shape and name, he is not playing false to an old love, and the wrong she suffers, though mortifying to her pride, is not the deadly offence of the perjured lover. The tragic tension of the situation is therefore very sensibly diminished.

It was necessary to indicate the chief points in which the Norse and German developments of the German legend go apart, in order to appreciate the great nineteenth century versions of the Volsung story. It is the strongest evidence of the superiority of the fragmentary but sublime Norse poetry to the rounded, coherent, and humanized German epic that the Norse form of the Volsung story rather than the German was chosen by the two great poets who nearly at the same time were occupied with it, one of them a German himself,—Richard Wagner and William Morris.

THREE LETTERS OF JOHN ELIOT AND A BILL OF LADING OF THE "MAYFLOWER".

By RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., D.Litt., etc.

AMONGST a number of valuable autograph letters, formerly in the possession of Mrs. Luke, the authoress of the children's hymn, whose first line runs

I think when I read that sweet story of old,

there lay three letters of John Eliot, the Apostle of the North American Indians, addressed to the Rev. Jonathan Hanmer of Barnstaple, England, and containing some interesting details as to the work of Christianising and civilising the red man. With these letters there was a Bill of Lading of the goods supplied to John Eliot, by an English friend who took a keen interest in the work among the Indians, and communicated with John Eliot through Jonathan Hanmer. His name was Spragot. The main interest in this Bill of Lading lies in the fact that the goods were carried in the famous ship "Mayflower," which was in 1653 still trading with New England, but now under Puritan ownership and a Puritan captain, Master Thomas Webber of Boston. Thus the famous ship, which carried the idea of a religious republic westward, was still engaged in the North Atlantic trade thirty-three years after the Pilgrims landed on Cape Cod.

At first sight it seems as if her point of departure was Bristol; but as we read the document through, it appears that the goods were shipped from London, having been (wholly or in part) forwarded thither from Bristol. Apparently Jonathan Hanmer's market for his cloth and canvas to clothe his Red Indians was Bristol, and the goods went thence, in the first instance, by road: or, perhaps, as there is a special charge for carting to the water-side, as well as for carriage from Bristol, the goods may have gone to London by some coasting vessel and been transferred in the Thames to the "Mayflower".

The documents are thus of the first importance ; they have a bearing on American History and upon the History of Missions. They have recently passed, by the agency of an American bookseller, at Boston, into the hands of a Transatlantic collector : while we should have been glad to retain them in England for an ornament to the proposed Mayflower University at Plymouth, their right place is clearly on the other side of the water. As to the source from which Mrs. Luke derived these documents, it is clear, from the fact that there are one or two other letters of Jonathan Hanmer in her collection, that they must be derived ultimately from Barnstaple and the Hanmer family. Jonathan Hanmer was a great Puritan leader and preacher in Barnstaple up to the time of the ejectment in 1662, when he becomes the first Nonconformist minister of that town, to whom the Barnstaple Dissenters refer their parentage. It was known from other sources that there was a strong missionary element in the Puritan churches of the seventeenth century. Their associations for work of a religious character developed ultimately into the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. It is interesting to find the name of John Eliot connected in some degree with the very un-Puritanical S.P.G. Shall we call it a case of Apostolical Succession ? The churches of Puritan sympathy and tendency in the West of England appear to have been keenly interested in John Eliot's apostolical labours : contributions came in, not only from private persons like Mr. Spragot, but from communities like the church at Exeter of which Mr. Nichols was minister.

John Eliot designed to make his converts graduate in " civility " before admitting them to Church Fellowship, and so his mission involved town-planning, and the organisation of town-life. The centre of this town-life was the meeting-house, upon which the Indians were already engaged when Eliot wrote.

It is interesting to note that the Puritan zeal for learning was in evidence on both sides of the water. John Eliot begged books and bought books, both for himself and for a colleague of his named Mahon, and the Devonshire churches (Exeter in particular) were able to contribute the latest biblical literature. We notice that Eliot expected his goods to come either from Barnstaple or Bristol, and does not ask that they should be sent by the " Mayflower," but by any trading vessel carrying goods to Massachusetts Bay or to the Banks of New-

foundland. There is said to be a fourth letter in the collection, which relates to the ordination of John Eliot's son to the ministry. Of this I have no copy ; those which are here transcribed for me have occasional lacunæ, where a word could not be read. As I have not had access to the documents, and have not yet succeeded in getting a photograph of them, the blanks must be filled up by conjecture.

LETTER I Dated 19^{t} of the 5^{t}/52 (1652).

REVEREND AND DEARE S^{r}

I have receiv^{d} your let^{r} dated March. 12.-51. wherein the Lord hath made you an unexpected instrument and messenger of incouragm^{t}, and supply unto this work of the Lord among these poore Indians, and that it may be when expected help may be more slow : that so the Lord might please to show himself the only guide and . . . for his people in all their ways. I desire to acknowledg the Lord's . . . who hath never failed me in this work of his. It is meete that I should informe you of the state of this work that your prayers may be with the more particular faith and fervor, be breathed forth at the throne of grace, in the behalf of this work, and those who labour therein. I cannot be so particular as I would, by reason straights of time, the ship being quickly to sail after I have received your let^{s}. if the Lord give you opportunity of going to Excestor, or of intercourse w^{h} revn^{d} M^{r} Nichols by him you may heare somewhat more than I can now wright unto your self, the revnd ministers, and christian people there having now these two years contributed towards this work, and by whose supply a great pt of the work for the civile p^{t} in charges and expenses hath been carried on. After several years speaking to them, the Lord opened their hearts to desire baptism . . . and to desire church estate and ministry, whereby to enjoy all God's ordinances, and to enjoy cohabitation and civile govnm^{t}, as subservient unto, and greatly conducing unto the spiritual ways and mercys—in this order they have been taught—they may have visible civility before they can rightly injoy visible sanctities in ecclesiastical communion. Now we looked out a place fit for to begin a towne, where a . . . numb^{r} of people might have subsistence togeth^{r}—in the year, 50, we began that work through rich grace. in the year 51 in a day of fasting and prayer they entered into a covenant wth God and each oth^{r} to be ruled by the Lord in all theire affaires civilian

making the Word of God theire only magna charta, for govm^nt^, laws, and all conversation and chose rulers of Bands—50. and of an hundred. —the platforms of w^h^ holy governmt of Gods own institution, I have sent over this yeare unto M^r^ Nicols for the reverend elders in exon, and if the Lord give you opportunity I should gladly wish your self might also have a sight of it, that I might receive your . . . animadvsions on it, but in my poor thoughts I app^ry^hend it would be a mercy to England, if they should in this hour of time, take up that forme of govm^t^ wh is a divine institution, and by wh christ should reigne over them, by the word of his mouth. but I forget my selfe. I am speaking of the Indians whom I desire to traine up to be the Lords people only, ruled by his Word in all things, and the Lord hath blessed them in this theire govm^nt^ and guided them in judgm^t^. This first yeare . . . and prepare them for holy church covenant whereby they give up themselves to be governed by the Lord ecclesiastically, in all his ordinances and church administrations, but I shall walk by good advice before I do this, they are now building themselves a meeting house wh when it is made, it may please the Lord to call them forth to be built a spiritual house unto the Lord.

Touching w^t^ you say of my wrighting for a supply of books for my brother Mahn it is true I did so, but soone after the Lord was pleased to offer a comfortable supply both to him, and me also, for I bought two librarys of two ministers who left us and they are both paide for, by the Corporation in London, and my broth^r^ Mahn hath beene possessd of his a good while, besides the revern^d^ elds. ministers of exon have sent unto us new supply, and this yeare they sent unto us the 2^nd^ edition of the new annotations upon the whole bible, so through the riches of Gods bounty he is now supplyed but w^t^ particular books he may further want I cannot tell. S^r^ you make mention of a liberal gift of a religious gentleman, whose name I hope I shall hereafter know that I may expresse my thankfullness in a few lines unto him and whereas you require to know in what comodity, it may be most suitably laid out I anse^r^ in two comoditys chiefly first in strong linen cloth, canvas, and oth^r^ good hempen cloth and lokroms,[1] because in the hot sumors the Indians delight to goo in linnon, and work, if in any garm^t^, only a linnon garment, if they can get it.

[1] Locram is a coarse cloth imported from Brittany, from a town of that name.

2[ly] in red, blew, or white cottons, course and thick, some call it trading cloth w[h] is the courses[r.] and some better. Only these two sorts of comoditys are best for the . . . the way of sending may be by ships from Barstable, who have often se hith[r], or by some Bristol ships who also trade hith[r], if by London then there is a faithfull friend of mine M[r] Butcher, who will conveigh any such things to me, but it may be the goods had better be taken up in your country, than to be bought in London S[r] I do also request this, that if any ships come from Barstable you would please to appoynt some or othr discente and Godly men, able to judg wisely and . . . to set ap[t] so much time, as to see with his eyes, and heare with his owne ears how the matters are here and what is done among the Indians, and should he have a good allowance for his paines, it would tend much to the furtherance of o[r] work and comfort of your work, and may you please to communicate this my motion to rev[nd] Mr Nicols and consi[dr] w[t] to be done in that case, nay if some of the churches should send forth a minister, and oth[r] faithfull brethren on purpose to visit, and comfort, and incourage such a work, I see not, but it were a worthy work, and well becoming the Spirit of the gospel—but I can now go no further. I do humbly bless the Lord for the prayers that are made in all the Churches in the behalfe of this work, and us who labour in it. I beg for the continuance thereoff and so commending you and all your holy labours unto the Lord, and to the blessing of his grace I r[st]

your unworthy fellow labourer
in the gospel of Christ
JOHN ELIOT.

Roxbury this 19[t]
of the 5[t] 52.

LETTER II, Dated 7[th] of the 8[th] Month 1652.

REVERN[d] AND MUCH RESPECTED IN CHRIST

I rec[d] let[s] from you full of love, both in acknowledgm[t] and incouragm[t] in this work of the Lord among the Indians to w[h] last I have by the former ship returned answ[r] according as you desired, but lest these let[s] should faile and miscary coming so far, and through so many hands before they can come at you, therefore I thought it necessary to write by this ship also, as I shall by the next likewise if the Lord give

optunity. your loving expression about books I thus answer^{d} t^{t} through the goodnesse of God, wants are well supplyed by the purchase of two librarys one for my broth^{r} Mahon, the other for my selfe, as also Revern^{d} M^{r} Nicols of Excetor wth the rest of the revernd ministers there and christian people have made a good supply unto us, both in books blessed be the Lord and blessed be they. for the fittest disposal of t^{t} 5£ you mention, because o^{r} Indians are now come to cohabitation and labour, they much delight in linnen to work in, in the summer especially, if therefore it be laide out in good canvas and other good strong linnen for shirts, and some for some cotton about head cloathes etc. it will best accomodate us for the present—unless some be laide out in thick warme white blanket cloth wh I think is plentyfully made in your country, such things will best suit us. for the way of sending it, I desire it may be by your . . . shipping, and if none be bound for the Bay of Massachusett yet if any be bound for the I^{ld} of Shoals, the great fishing place of N.E. it may be safely conveighed unto me for the minister who p^{r}cheth there is named M^{r} Brock, a godly man, unto whom the care being comited I doubt not but he will carefully send them unto me, or if they be bound to any other port with us, let^{s} and goods sent unto me who am of Roxbury, will easyly be notified, and conveighed. if anybody of trust have the care . . . comited to them the present state of o^{r} busynesse is through the grace of christ come up to this, that upon the 13th day of this month (if God will) we have a day of fasting and prayer, wherein we shall call forth sundry Indians to make confession of Jesus Christ his truth and grace whose confessions, if they, to charity appear to be such as were not revealed to them by flesh and blood, but by the fath^{r} then we shall proceed to build them into a visible constituted church for the injoyment of Christ in all his holy ordinances.

Now this businesse is pressing on, and filleth me so wth ocupa^{n} as t^{t} I cannot attend much to writing S^{r} I earnest beg your prayers, and the prayers of all the people of the Lord, and so comending you, and all your holy labours unto the Lord's blessing and mercy—I rst

your affectionate broth^{r} and
fellow labourer in
the Lords vinyard
JOHN ELIOT.

Roxbury this 7^{t} of the 8^{t} month 1652.

S^r^

in my form^r^ let^r^ I was bold to move t^t^ if the Christian people who are now contributors to this good work of the Lord would please to send over some godly messenger who may see w^th^ his eyes what is done . . . w^h^ they have bestowed, it may much tend to theire satisfaction, and incouragem^t^ in so great and good a work as this is.

1653.

Invoyce of Goods Sente on y^e^ May. Flower of Boston (Master Thos. Webber) for Boston in New England consigned onto M^r^. John Eliott Pastor of y^e^ Church of Roxbury fr M^r^. Jonathan Hamner, y^e^ Cost and Chardges, viz.

	£	s.	d.
#1 Ballott of Canvas N^r^ 3 q^r^ 180 Awnds Cost . .	010	14	09
#1 Ballott of Canvas n^r^ 6 q^r^: 210 awnds cost . .	016	04	04
#100 yards of Course Dowlis[1] at 10½^d^ p y^d^ is . .	004	07	06
#Chardges paide on those Goods at Bristoll is . .	000	05	08
	031	12	03
2 qts of Tourkinge Cloth of 45 yds: ys. white cost .	16	00	00
#p^d^ for canvas and packinge y^e^ Tourkinge[2] cloth . .	000	05	06
#p^d^ for Cartidge to y^e^ Water Side	000	00	08
#p^d^ for Carryadge of y^e^ Canvas from Bristoll . . .	000	14	00
#p^d^ for makeinge bills of entry and clearinge y^e^ Canvas at ye Custome House	000	03	06
#p^d^ for Custome of 50 ells of Canvas, entered short .	000	02	08
#p^d^ for portidge, cartidge, craneidge, boatidge and warfidge, and warehouse roome for y^e^ Canvas . .	000	04	08
#p^d^ for Warehouse rooms, Warfidge, portidge Craneidge and boatidge for y^e^ 2 q^rs^ Tourk-Cloth . . .	000	04	08
#p^d^ for fraight, primadge, and	002	11	00
#p^d^ Severall petty chardges on those goods . . .	000	00	08
Sum is	051	19	07
p^d^ out of mony Nuttall forming a Certificate fr y^e^ Shippinge out y^e^ 2 ballotts of Canvas at shippinge office in london	00	00	06
	52	00	1

[1] This again is Breton fabric from Dulas in Brittany: it is the cloth that made Falstaff so angry: "Dowlas, filthy dowlas".

[2] Cloth dyed light blue, the Turkey blue of the day: the form is from the Italian *turchino*.

LETTER III, Dated 29t of the 6t —54.

REVEND AND MUCH RESPECTED IN THE LORD

That liberal gift of that Christian Gentleman, Mr. Spragot, and his religious familie wth your owne exceeding great love, care, paine and travaile about the same I did by the blessing of the Lord receive, safe and in good condition, in the end of the yeare 53 wh the Lord sent me at such a season, as tt it was a singular comfort unto us, and furtherance of the work, provision for winter clothing and a support to the work all this spring, untill such time as the Lord affordeth us some more supplys and I doo send not only my thanks for all this love, but also an account of the improvmt thereof unto the ends you appoynted the same and I have sent here inclosed one account to your people and the same I have sent to Mr Spegot himselfe inclosed in his letr wh I request you to delivr to him It pleaseth God thus to owne and blesse the work, they come forward in civility there is in them a great measure of natural informity and ingeniosity only it is drowned in their wild and rude manner of living, but by culture, order, governmt and religion they begin to be furbished up, and drawn forth unto some good imploymts, and by Gods blessing I hope they will be in these civile respects raised to some good improvmt. Religion is on the gaineing hand (I blesse the Lord) though in Church estate and affaires of ecclesiastical polity they come on but slowly but in these matters they doo as they are orderd and guided by counsel, and not according to theire owne notions. I hope you have seen theire confessions wh they made in the yeare 52, and the reasons of our proceeding no further at that time, in the yeare 53 I did not move at all that way for some special reasons, only some . . . against this present yeare This yeare 54 we have had anothr meeting about it: viz. for the examination of the Indians in poynt of knowledge in the doctrinal pt of religion, they were examined principally by the Elders of the churches about us, as also by any other Christian man, who thought good to propound any question to them, as some did for it was an open and free conference, tt so tr might be the fuller satisfaction given to all tt. desired the same in conclusion wherof the Elders did give testymony of theire good satisfaction in what they had received from them, but a more particular relation of this days meeting, I have sent over to the Corporation to be publishedtogethr wth

the present state we stood in, touching o^{r} furth^{r} guiding in gath^{r}ing them into a church estate and covenant unto w^{h} I must make bold to refer you for fuller information. Also the laste yeare I sent over the Indians thanks unto the Christian people of Engl: for theire love, also a relation of some judgm^{ts}, as the rulers have executed upon sinners w^{h} I hope are published, wherin may be seen theire care to leade a conversation according to the word of God, and the light they have received S^{r} my times are filled wth ocupa^{n}, and cannot inlarge furth^{r}. I intreat the continuance of your prayers unto the Lord for us all and for me and so comending you and all your holy labours unto the Lord I rest

Your loving broth^{r} and
fellow labourer in the
Lords vinyarde
JOHN ELIOT.

Roxbury this 29^{t} of the 6^{t}. 54.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND CONTRACTIONS, ETC., IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LATIN MANUSCRIPT No. 15.

By ALEXANDER SOUTER, M.A., D.Litt.,
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LATIN manuscript No. 15 in the Rylands Library is noteworthy from various points of view. The occurrence of the well-known subscription "Orate pro domino bartolomeo abbate Murbacën," partially defaced by the notorious Libri, proves that in the fifteenth century the manuscript was in the splendid library of the Benedictine abbey at Murbach in Alsace. Of its once huge collection only about fifty or sixty volumes are now known to exist,[1] and of these there are only three in England.[2] The palæographical interest of the Manchester MS. is sufficiently indicated by the presence of photographs of two of its pages in the *New Palæographical Society's* facsimiles, Nos. 160, 161, from which a portion of one page has been selected by Sir E. M. Thompson for publication as facsimile No. 129 in his *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palæography* (Oxford, 1912), pp. 363 f. It has not escaped the attention of Dr. Paul Lehmann of Munich,[3] nor of Professor W. M. Lindsay, who has collected and studied its abbreviations for his standard work *Notæ Latinæ* (Cambridge, 1915).

But the interest of the manuscript is not exclusively palæographical. It happens that it is one of the oldest extant minuscule manuscripts of the works of St. Cyprian, and that it was not used for the standard

[1] See the fullest list in P. Lehmann, *Iohannes Sichardus und die von ihm benutzten Bibliotheken und Handschriften* (München, 1911), pp. 164-75.

[2] The other two are in the Bodleian, namely, Jun. 25; Add. C. 15 (24713).

[3] See note 1.

Vienna edition of Hartel. A considerable time ago Canon E. W. Watson made a collation of it which has been used by Dr. Sanday and his coadjutors in the preparation of a definitive edition of the *Testimonia ad Quirinum*.[1] Dom John Chapman had already in 1902 published a list of its contents,[2] and recently it has been carefully studied by another Cyprianic scholar. It is from Dom Chapman that Dr. Hans von Soden obtains the account of the contents of the manuscript in his *Die Cyprianische Briefsammlung* (Leipzig, 1904).[3]

I have recently been privileged to spend about a week in the study of the MS., particularly from the point of view of contractions and orthography. There seems no reason to doubt that the manuscript was written at Murbach, as some of the scribes show the writing of the Murbach-Reichenau-St. Gall-Chur school. I have special reasons with which I need not trouble the reader, to be greatly interested in the earlier MS. products of these monasteries, and it is this interest which has led me to make what I trust is a complete list of the abbreviations and contractions of the MS. A study of the valuable tables at the end of the *Notæ Latinæ* will show at once that the MS. belongs neither to Britain, nor to Spain, nor to Italy. It is the product of a considerable number of scribes, but I have not thought it necessary to distinguish these in detail, as it is the practice of the *scriptorium* of which we are in search. It may be remarked that Oxford *Junius* 25 and Paris *B.N.* 1853, which appears to be a Murbach MS., share with our manuscript the peculiarity that they have very many scribes. It would seem that towards the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century it was a practice of the Murbach scriptorium to hurry the production of a codex by setting a large number of scribes to work on it simultaneously.

It is perhaps hardly safe to say much about the archetype or archetypes of this manuscript. Its tradition is throughout good, for some of the later documents in it perhaps particularly good. The following spellings suggest a Spanish stage in transmission : *hospidem* (corr.) 47 v., *srahel* (perhaps an accident) 63 r., *catolicus* (nearly always), *hergo* (for *ergo*), *orum* (for *horum*), *ostes* (for *hostes*), *hoccasionem*, *hominibus*

[1] The symbol X has been employed to indicate the MS. : *cf.* C. H. Turner, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. vi. (1904-5), pp. 247 f.

[2] *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, vol. iv. (1902-3), p. 120, n. 3.

[3] Pp. 153 f.

(for *omnibus*), *ac* (for *hac*), *ereticus*, *umilitas*, *quotidie* (several times, always corrected to *cotidie*), *coerere* (for *cohærere*), *coibendos*. It is only fair, however, to admit that there is no relic of the truly Spanish *aum̄* (for *autem*) or *nr̄* (for *noster*). It is interesting to note that *dn̄m̄* is rightly corrected to *dn̄s* on fol. 104 r. and to *dn̄o* on fol. 106 r., 108 r., while *dn̄s* is rightly corrected to *dn̄i* on fol. 113 r., 124 v., 134 r. These phenomena indicate, I think, that the archetype contained the old symbol D̄O̅M̄ which does duty for any case, and had to be handled cautiously when converted to another system. It is probable that the archetype containing this symbol was not later than the sixth century: such a conclusion is favoured by the great excellence of the orthography in our MS.; *pusillianimis*, *unianimis*, *susurrio* (noun), *solacium*, *catecumenus*, *Thubunas* (indecl.), *sallietur* ("will be salted"), *cottidie*, *obsetrix*, *Aron*, *exhomologesin*, *heiulare*, *perierare*.

Professor A. C. Clark, in his *Descent of Manuscripts*,[1] has recently called attention to the importance of omissions for estimating the length of the lines in an archetype. Several of those that occur in this MS. are due to homœoteleuton, but the length of others suggests that the archetype consisted of short lines of seventeen letters or thereabouts each. This means that the columns were narrow, and that there were two or three columns to the page: three columns is regarded as a "Spanish Symptom". The figures are, 31, 16, 19, 17, 50, 35, 17, 35 letters respectively. The symbol * indicates omission, but on fol. 37 r. ·n̄d· (= *hic deest*) is used.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

autem: aū, aūt (once only, f. 21 v.; a doubtful example, f. 132 v., end of line).
carus: kr̄i, "carissimi"; kr̄e, "carissime"; kr̄me, "carissime" (once, 77 v.).
Christus: xp̄s.
confessor: conf̄, "confessoribus".
deus: ds̄.
diaconus: d̄d̄, "diaconos" (f. 194 r.).
dicit: dic̄, dr̄ (once, in ras. f. 127 r.).
dixit: dix̄, d̄ (three times).
dominus: dn̄s.

[1] Oxford, 1918.

eius : ei ; eı̇, ė (f. 30 v.).
episcopus : ep̄s, epis, " episcopus " (once, f. 88 r.).
est : ē.
esse : ēe, eēt, " esset " (once, f. 203 r.).
frater : frs̄, " fratres ".
frās " fratres " (thrice) ; frāis (end of line), " fratris " (once, f. 21 r.).
Iesus : ihs̄, *etc.* ; ihū̄s, *etc.* (the latter rare).
Israhel : isrl̄, israh̄ (end of line ; once, f. 54 v.) ; isrl̄ite.
Kalendis : kal̄.
nobis : nob̄.
uobis : uob̄.
non : n̄.
noster : nt̄ (5 times only) ; nā, nm̄, nām, nī, nāē, nę̄, nō, nīs ; nrā (f. 109 v. = " nostram " f. 112 v.) ; nrī (later hand, f. 109 r., also *m.* 1, f. 149 r.), nr̄o.
uester : um̄, uā, uām, uī, uę̄, uō, uōs, uās, uīs ; ur̄a (f. 65 v.), urām (f. 65 v.), urī (f. 10 r.).
numerus : n̄, " numero " (once, f. 142 r., expanded in margin by contemp. hand).
nunc : nc̄ (twice, f. 6 v., f. 10 v.).
omnes : om̄.
omnipotens : omnip̄s, omnipō (end of line), " omnipotenti ".
per : ꝑ.
post : ꝑ' (thrice), (see *pus* under *us*) ; ꝑ ; (once).
prae : p̄.
presbyter : pr̄r̄, " presbyteris " (4 times) ; pr̄, " presbyteris," " presbytero " (once each) ; PR̄BS, " presbytero " (f. 157 r.), presb̄, " presbyteros " (f. 194 r.) ; pr̄esb̄, " presbyteri " (f. 194 r.).
pro : ꝓ.
propter : pp̄ (thrice) ; pp̄ter (twice) ; p̄pt̄ (once, f. 41 r.), ppt̄ (17 times) ; pr̄op̄ (once, f. 108 r.) ; ꝓter (once, f. 177 v.).
quae : q: (thrice) ; q:·
que : q ; q:
qui : q (thrice).
quod : qd̄, qod̄ (18 times) ; ꝙ (once in rasura, f. 44 r.).
quoniam : quō (44 times) ; qū̄m (30 times, once, f. 64 v., corrected by second hand to quō) ; qn̄m (18 times) ; qm̄ (15 times) ; qn̄ (twice, f. 9 v., f. 47 r.).
sacerdos : sacerd̄s (end of line), (f. 19 v.).
saeculum : secl̄a, " saecula " (once) ; scl̄m, " saeculum " (once).
sanctus : sc̄s, *etc.*, sc̄us, *etc.*, scītas.
secundum : secd̄ (18 times) ; sec̄dū (thrice) ; secund̄ (thrice) ; sed̄ (once, f. 110 v.).
sicut : sic̄.
spiritus : sp̄s, *etc.*, spū̄s, *etc.* (rare) ; sp̄is, " spiritus " (once) ; sp̄m (4 times), " spiritum," sp̄um (once) ; " spiritum ".
spiritalis : sp̄talis, *etc.* (5 times).
sunt : s̄.
tamen : tn̄ (once, *m.* 2 *in ras.*, f. 72 v.).

Syllable Symbols.

con : c̄.
en : m̄, "men".
ent : hab̄, "habent" (only f. 66 r. *bis*).
er : t̄, "ter," t́ (f. 44 v.).
is : b̄, "bis" (once expanded, *m.* 2, once unaltered); d̄, "dis" (f. 150 r.); m̄s, "mis" (end of line), (f. 16 v.).
it : c̄, x̄.
m : suprascript stroke.
n : suprascript stroke.
um : r̄, "rum" (22 times); d̄, "dum" (end of line, f. 19 v.); *cf.* secundum.
unt : r̄, "runt," b̄, "bunt" (4 times).
ur : t́, t̄ (twice, f. 60 v., f. 67 v.).
us : b. b; p) (once); m+ n+ ṁ.

A NEW LIST OF THE PERSIAN KINGS.

By Alphonse Mingana, D.D.,
of the John Rylands Library.

FOREWORD.

IT was in 1879 that, with the help of Syriac and Arabic documents, Nöldeke drew up the first complete list of the kings of the Sasanian dynasty of Persia. That the order and the date of their succession, as stated by the celebrated Orientalist, are mostly correct is proved by the accurate synchronisms with Roman and Byzantine Emperors, the general course of events, and some ancient but newly published sources, such as the *Synodicon Orientale* made known by J. B. Chabot in 1902, and the precious history of Meshiha-Zeka edited with a French translation by the present writer in 1907. There is, however, in the John Rylands Library a Syriac manuscript (formerly Cod. Syr. 146 in J. Rendel Harris's collection) which contains a list of these same kings differing considerably from that hitherto known. The difference extends (*a*) to the names of the kings, and (*b*) to the date of their reign. As to the divergences of dates they may partly be accounted for by the fact that these dates are given in numerical characters, which might easily have been misread or falsified by subsequent copyists; as to the changes found in a few proper names, ex. gr. 'Amri, one must own that they are somewhat more puzzling. Warahrān is, of course, the more ancient name of Bahrām.

The composition of the list may be ascribed to the thirtieth year of Chosrau Anusharwān (A.D. 561), and if so, it is possible that we have before us the most ancient chronological table of the Sasanian monarchs. The manuscript, although modern,[1] contains tracts which could not

[1] The date of its transcription is 1861 of the Seleucids, corresponding with A.D. 1550.

have been written after the Arab invasion ; for instance, in the short vocabulary of the Biblical words which it gives, some vocables are translated into Persian, not Arabic ; further, we have no reason to question the intellectual proficiency of the author of the list in relation to the successors of Chosrau Anusharwān (A.D. 531 to 652) concerning whom he keeps silence ; this is a proof that he was writing at a time preceding their succession to the throne.

The list being certainly very ancient it has been found useful to give it for what it is worth, and for purposes of comparison we subjoin the chronological table of Nöldeke which is also reproduced in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (s.v. Persia).

Translation of the New List.

Names of Kings.	Years of their Reign.	Chronology According to the New List.
Ardashir (son of Baksus)	6	225-231 [1]
Sapor (his son)	31	231-262
Hormizd	2	262-264
Warahrān	10	264-274
Warahrān (Sagānshāh)	17	274-291
Narsai (Karmānshāh)	4	291-295
Hormizdād	7	295-302
Sapor (his son)	69	302-371
Ardashir (son of Sapor)	7	371-378
Sapor (his brother)	3	378-381
'Amri [2]	17	381-398
Warahrān (his brother)	17	398-415
Yezdegerd (son of Sapor)	21	415-436
Warahrān (son of Yezdegerd)	21	436-457
Yezdegerd (son of Warahrān)	22	457-479
Peroz (son of Yezdegerd)	29	479-508
Balash (his brother)	27	508-535
Kawada (his brother)	42	535-577
Chosrau (his son)	30 [3]	577-607

[1] We take for our starting point the year 225 instead of 226 adopted by Nöldeke ; in this we follow the exact chronology established by Meshiḥa-Zeka (in Mingana's *Sources Syriaques*, vol. i., p. 106).

[2] No man of this name is mentioned in Nöldeke's list, and one is almost tempted to think here of Omri, the King of Israel (1 Kings xvi. 16 sq.). As in the manuscript the preceding page is devoted to the Kings of Israel, it is possible to suppose that the copyist has by an oversight repeated in the list of the Persian Kings a name which he had used in a previous list.

[3] As stated above the list was written in the thirtieth year of Chosrau Anusharwān.

Nöldeke's List.

(From *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 435.)

Ardashir I	226-241
Sapor I	241-271
Hormizd I	272-273
Bahram I	273-276
Bahram II	276-293
Bahram III (Sagānshāh)	293
Narsai	293-302
Hormizd II	302-310
Sapor II	310-379
Ardashir II	379-383
Sapor III	383-388
Bahram IV (Karmanshāh)	388-399
Yezdegerd I	399-420
Bahram V (Gor)	420-438
Yezdegerd II	438-457
Hormizd III	457-459
Peroz	457-484
Balash	484-488
Kawadh I	488-531
(Djamasp)	496-498
Chosrau (Anusharwān)	531-579

SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS.

A TABLE GIVING AN ANALYSIS OF ACT AND SCENE DIVISIONS IN THE 1623 FOLIO.

By WILLIAM POEL,

FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR OF THE ELIZABETHAN STAGE SOCIETY.

THE printed text of the moralities and historical plays of the sixteenth century is not divided into acts and scenes, nor are the first printed copies of Shakespeare's plays so arranged. Ben Jonson, the classic, clamoured for reform, and the publication of his folio in 1616, dividing his plays into acts and scenes, explain why divisions appear in the 1623 folio of Shakespeare's plays. And although in some of the theatres there were evidently intervals in the dramatic performances which were filled up by dancing or music, there is good reason to believe they were sparingly used in the Globe Playhouse. There is besides internal evidence in the plays of Shakespeare to suggest continuity of movement.

Dr. Samuel Johnson (1765) in his preface to an edition of the plays, supports this point of view :—

"I have preserved the common distribution of the plays into acts, though I believe it to be in almost all the plays void of authority. Some of those which are divided in the later editions have no division in the first folio, and some that are divided in the folio have no division in the preceding copies. The settled mode of the theatre requires four intervals in the play, but few, if any, of our author's compositions can be properly distributed in that manner. An act is so much of the drama as passes without intervention of time or change of place. A pause makes a new act. In every real and therefore in every imitative action, the intervals may be more or fewer, the restriction of five acts being accidental and arbitrary. This Shakespeare knew and this he practised ; his plays were written, and at first printed, in one unbroken continuity. . . ."

Of the thirty-six plays which appear in the first folio six of them have no division into acts and scenes, and of these six *Romeo and Juliet* is an early written play, while *Anthony and Cleopatra* is a late one. Ten of the plays are divided into acts but are without any further division of scenes, and among these ten is *Titus Andronicus*, a very early play, and *Coriolanus*, a very late one. Eight of the plays are irregular in their divisions ; one has an act-division omitted altogether as in *The Taming of the Shrew ;* in *Henry VI. Part I.* some of the acts are divided into scenes and not others ; while in *Hamlet*, after Act II. scene ii., there are no further divisions made. Out of the whole thirty-six plays, in this first folio, there are only six in the volume having divisions—in acts and scenes—similar to those shown in the printed editions to-day ; and these six include *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, together with *The Tempest*, a comedy written twenty years later. Now it seems incredible that this wide divergence of treatment of divisions in Shakespeare's plays, collected under one cover, should have been accidentally overlooked by the editors, or sanctioned by the publishers without comment. Perhaps the editors looked upon the inserted act and scene divisions as matters of little importance since they were aware that twenty-one of the plays had already appeared in print, in separate quartos, without any divisions at all. And some of these printed plays were still being acted at the " Globe," also, it may be presumed, without regular intervals. Then if the editors realized that the divisions they were adding to the plays in the folio failed to mark the conclusion of definite incidents, or even to denote changes of locality, they may have intentionally abandoned the task of completion as an impossible one.

Capell long ago (1768) pointed out the need for a solution of this act and scene difficulty when he wrote in a preface to his edition of Shakespeare's plays : " Neither can the representation be managed nor the order and thread of the fable be properly conceived by the reader till the question of acts and scenes be adjusted ". Unfortunately, Capell could prescribe no remedy. To-day act and scene divisions appear in all modern editions unadjusted and unintelligible.

A TABLE GIVING AN ANALYSIS OF ACT AND SCENE DIVISIONS, IN THE

The titles of the plays follow the same order as in the folio. Column one shows the number of lines i to the length of play, beginnin

TOTAL LINES.	LENGTH ORDER.		ACT I.	ACT II.	ACT III.	ACT IV.	ACT V.	
		COMEDIES.						
2042	3	§** Tempest	572	519	366	267	318	Probably t Prosp
2386	8	§** Two Gentlemen of Verona	392	782	493	475	244	
3022	24	** Merry Wives of Windsor	633	677	759	614	339	
2812	19	§*† Measure for Measure	426	707	577	557	545	In Scene prison
1756	1	* Comedy of Errors	263	317	313	438	425	Since ther are o
2668	14	* Much Ado About Nothing	435	734	459	430	610	In this pla
2785	17	* Love's Labour's Lost	506	259	207	709	1104	Acts 4 and
2205	5	* Midsummer-Night's Dream	364	464	669	263	445	the la
2614	12	* Merchant of Venice	517	633	680	477	307	Note that
2851	20	** As You Like It	621	532	724	525	449	into n
2373	7	† The Taming of the Shrew	541	413	346	729	344	The *Induc* errors
2950	22	* All's Well that Ends Well	582	758	474	704	432	*Scena Prim*
2690	15	** Twelfth Night	628	651	747	247	417	*Finis Actu* shoul
3074	27	§** Winter's Tale	515	472	409	1102	576	Scene 2 of the le
		HISTORIES.						
2572	11	†† King John	276	598	615	562	521	Acts 4 and to the
2752	16	** Richard II.	648	644	579	334	547	The Globe
3027	25	** 1 King Henry IV.	651	945	683	291	457	The Globe
3365	34	*† 2 King Henry IV.	603	893	466	867	536	Scene 1 of Act 4
3146	28	* King Henry V.	408	438	718	986	596	Scene 1 of Act 1, rearra
2638	13	†† 1 King Henry VI.	560	486	474	557	561	Acts 1 and editio secon
3160	29	‡ 2 King Henry VI.	675	504	829	813	339	Although the tit
2889	21	‡ 3 King Henry VI.	580	692	561	560	496	Again the
3621	36	*† Richard III.	1073	414	829	847	458	To Act 3 t Scene
2796	18	** Henry VIII.	615	661	644	310	566	This play
3464	35	‡ Troilus and Cressida	832	632	707	649	644	This play "His
		TRAGEDIES.						
3313	30	* Coriolanus	773	721	624	668	527	The words
2523	10	* Andronicus	495	324	386	543	575	*Scena Prim*
3017	23	‡ Romeo and Juliet	715	674	797	406	425	The words
1946	2	§‡ Timon of Athens	257	243	469	634	343	The words
2477	9	* Julius Cæsar	570	525	615	412	355	The words
2080	4	** Macbeth	449	331	450	483	367	The Globe
3930	37	†† Hamlet	851	751	928	662	738	In this pla *Scena*
3328	32	*† King Lear	964	644	618	696	406	In Act 2 th Globe
3316	31	** Othello	692	728	745	651	500	In Act 2 th
3063	26	‡ Antony and Cleopatra	532	761	755	570	445	As usual *A*
3340	33	** Cymbeline	742	469	755	530	844	In Act 1 th it omi
2215	*6*	*Pericles*	*443*	*496*	*252*	*590*	*434*	*This play*

* Divided into Acts but not into Scenes. ** Divided into Acts and Scenes. *† Some irregularities in the Scene
‡ Not divided into Acts or Scenes. § A list o

’S PLAYS.

: 1623 FOLIO, WHERE DIVISIONS APPEARED FOR THE FIRST TIME.

n each play as given in Macmillan's "Globe Edition": column two shows the order according
g with the shortest play.

REMARKS.

he only play in the volume written in acts and scenes by Shakespeare. Note the pause after Act 4 where
ro finishes the act with a speech and opens the next act with soliloquy.

, Scene 3, of Act 1 no change of scene is needed. During Scene 1 of Act 3 the action changes from the
cell to the street. These division errors are corrected in the Globe edition.
e are no scene-divisions in this comedy, the words *Scena Prima* are not wanted after *Actus Primus*. They
itted from Act 2, and reappear after the names of the subsequent acts.
y the words *Scena Prima* occur only after Act 1.
5 are both named *Actus Quartus*. Note that Act 5 is more than four times the length of Act 1. As a rule
t act is the shortest.
ive consecutive plays are divided into acts but not into scenes. The Globe edition divides Act 2 of this play
ne scenes.
tion is not separated from the rest of the play; Act 1 is followed by Act 3. The Globe edition corrects these
and alters the positions of the remaining act divisions.
na is only added to Act 1. In Act 4 a ruled line is drawn across the column of the page where a scene ends.
s is printed at the close of each act except the third act, where there is no pause in the action, and no division
l have been made.
Act 4, where the characters enter should be Scene 1. The Globe edition does not correct this error. Note
ngth of this act.
5 are both named *Actus Quartus*. The length of Act 2 is only 74 lines; the Globe edition throws back the act
position of Scene 2, Act 1, then turns Act 2 into Act 3, omits the words Act 3, adding a new scene-division.
edition divides Scene 3 of Act 5 into two scenes, a needless addition.
edition divides Scene 2 of Act 5 into two scenes, which is again unnecessary.
Act 1 should begin after the *Induction*. The Globe edition corrects the error; it also divides Scene 1 of
into three scenes, and Scene 2 of the same act into two scenes.
Act 1 is here correctly placed after the prologue. The second speech of the Chorus comes in the middle of
and again at the opening of Acts 2, 3, and 5. But there is no Chorus to open Act 4. The Globe edition
nges the act-divisions, so that a Chorus opens each act, and adds scene-divisions to the five acts.
2 are not divided into scenes. Act 3 is divided into four scenes, the same divisions appearing in the Globe
. Act 4 is divided into three scenes and Act 5 is in a scene of 108 lines. The Globe edition turns the
l scene of Act 4 into Act 5, and rearranges the last two acts into seven and five scenes respectively.
here are neither act nor scene-divisions in this play, the words *Actus Primus, Scena Prima*, are printed under
le.
words *Actus Primus, Scena Prima*, appear under the title.
he Globe edition adds three more scene-divisions, and makes an additional division in Scene 2, Act 4. After
2 there are no more scene-divisions in Act 5, but the Globe edition adds another three scenes.
vas probably written in acts and scenes, but not by Shakespeare. In Act 5 the Globe edition adds a third scene.
while in the printers' hands, was removed from its position in the "Tragedies" and inserted after the
ories"; it is not among the list of plays, and is not paged.

Scena Prima occur only after Act 1. The Globe edition divides the first act into ten scenes.
na is added to the words *Actus Primus*. Act 2 is spelt "Actus Secunda".
Actus Primus, Scena Prima, are printed under the title of the play.
Actus Primus, Scena Prima, are printed under the title of the play.
Scena Prima appear after Act 1.
edition adds an eighth scene to the last act.
y there are no divisions of acts or scenes after Act 2, Scene 2, and to *Actus Secundus* are not added the words
Prima.
ıe Globe edition adds two more scene-divisions. In Act 4 the text of a whole scene is omitted which in the
edition is named Scene 3, and the last four scenes of the act are numbered 3, 4, 5, 7.
ıe Globe edition adds a scene-division which is numbered 3.
ctus Primus, Scena Prima, is printed below the title of the play, there being no act or scene-divisions in the play.
ıe Globe edition marks Scene 1 and 2 as one scene. In Act 2 it adds a scene-division to Scene 4, and in Act 3
ts one of the scene-divisions.
is not in the folio.

Divisions. † Some irregularities in the Act Divisions. †† Irregular Divisions both in Acts and Scenes.
f the characters is printed for this play.

CLASSIFIED LIST OF RECENT ACCESSIONS TO THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

The classification of the items in this list is in accordance with the main divisions of the "Dewey Decimal System," and in the interest of those readers, who may not be familiar with the system, it may be advisable briefly to point out the advantages claimed for this method of arrangement.

The principal advantage of a classified catalogue, as distinguished from an alphabetical one, is that it preserves the unity of the subject, and by so doing enables a student to follow its various ramifications with ease and certainty. Related matter is thus brought together, and the reader turns to one sub-division and round it he finds grouped others which are intimately connected with it. In this way new lines of research are often suggested.

One of the great merits of the system employed is that it is easily capable of comprehension by persons previously unacquainted with it. Its distinctive feature is the employment of the ten digits, in their ordinary significance, to the exclusion of all other symbols—hence the name, decimal system.

The sum of human knowledge and activity has been divided by Dr. Dewey into ten main classes—0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. These ten classes are each separated in a similar manner, thus making 100 divisions. An extension of the process provides 1000 sections, which can be still further sub-divided in accordance with the nature and requirements of the subject. Places for new subjects may be provided at any point of the scheme by the introduction of new decimal points. For the purpose of this list we have not thought it necessary to carry the classification beyond the hundred main divisions, the arrangement of which will be found in the "Order of Classification" which follows :—

ORDER OF CLASSIFICATION.

000 General Works.
010 Bibliography.
020 Library Economy.
030 General Cyclopedias.
040 General Collections.
050 General Periodicals.
060 General Societies.
070 Newspapers.
080 Special Libraries. Polygraphy.
090 Book Rarities.

100 Philosophy.
110 Metaphysics.
120 Special Metaphysical Topics.
130 Mind and Body.
140 Philosophical Systems.
150 Mental Faculties. Psychology.
160 Logic.
170 Ethics.
180 Ancient Philosophers.
190 Modern Philosophers.

200 Religion.
210 Natural Theology.
220 Bible.
230 Doctrinal Theol. Dogmatics.
240 Devotional and Practical.
250 Homiletic. Pastoral. Parochial.
260 Church. Institutions. Work.
270 Religious History.
280 Christian Churches and Sects.
290 Non-Christian Religions.

300 Sociology.
310 Statistics.
320 Political Science.
330 Political Economy.
340 Law.
350 Administration.
360 Associations and Institutions.
370 Education.
380 Commerce and Communication.
390 Customs. Costumes. Folk-lore.

400 Philology.
410 Comparative.
420 English.
430 German.
440 French.
450 Italian.
460 Spanish.
470 Latin.
480 Greek.
490 Minor Languages.

500 Natural Science.
510 Mathematics.
520 Astronomy.
530 Physics.
540 Chemistry.
550 Geology.
560 Paleontology.
570 Biology.
580 Botany.
590 Zoology.

600 Useful Arts.
610 Medicine.
620 Engineering.
630 Agriculture.
640 Domestic Economy.
650 Communication and Commerce.
660 Chemical Technology.
670 Manufactures.
680 Mechanic Trades.
690 Building.

700 Fine Arts.
710 Landscape Gardening.
720 Architecture.
730 Sculpture.
740 Drawing, Design, Decoration.
750 Painting.
760 Engraving.
770 Photography.
780 Music.
790 Amusements.

800 Literature.
810 American.
820 English.
830 German.
840 French.
850 Italian.
860 Spanish.
870 Latin.
880 Greek.
890 Minor Languages.

900 History.
910 Geography and Description.
920 Biography.
930 Ancient History.
Modern.
940 Europe.
950 Asia.
960 Africa.
970 North America.
980 South America.
990 Oceanica and Polar Regions.

500 NATURAL SCIENC GENERAL.

WARD (Lester Frank) Glimpses of the cosmos. By L. F. Ward. (Comprising his minor contributions now republished, together with biographical and historical sketches of all his writings.) . . . [With plates.] *New York and London*, 1915. 8vo. *In progress.* R 40564

4. Period, 1885-1893.—1915.

540 NATURAL SCIENCE: CHEMISTRY.

THORPE (*Sir* Thomas Edward) The Right Honourable Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe. . . . A biographical sketch. [With portrait.] *London*, 1916. 8vo, pp. viii, 207. R 41157

570 NATURAL SCIENCE: ARCHÆOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY.

BEUCHAT (Henri) Manuel d'archéologie américaine. Amérique préhistorique-civilisations disparues. . . . Préface par . . . H. Vignaud. . . . [With folding tables and illustrations.] *Paris*, 1912. 8vo, pp. xli, 773. R 41967

BREUIL (Henri) La Pileta à Benaojan, Malaga, Espagne. Par . . . H. Breuil . . . H. Obermaier . . . et Willoughby Verner. [With plates and illustrations.] [Institut de Paléontologie Humaine. Peintures et Gravures Murales des Cavernes Paléolithiques.] *Monaco*, 1915. 4to, pp. 65. R 35845

CAMERON (A. A.) A note on the Palaungs of the Kodaung hill tracts of the Mongmit State. [With illustrations.] *Rangoon*, 1912. 8vo, pp. 61. R 41303

CATLIN (George) Letters and notes on the manners, customs, and condition of the North American Indians. By G. Catlin. Written during eight years' travel amongst the wildest tribes of Indians in North America, in 1832, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, and 39. . . . With . . . illustrations . . . engraved from his original paintings. *London*, 1841. 2 vols. 8vo. R 41399

CROOKE (William) The tribes and castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. [With plates.] *Calcutta*, 1896. 4 vols. 8vo. R 41280

ELLIOTT (George Francis Scott) Prehistoric man and his story: a sketch of the history of mankind from the earliest times. . . . With . . . illustrations & diagrams. [Story Library.] *London*, 1915. 8vo, pp. 398. R 41118

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Burma.

2. Carrapiett (W. J. S.) The Salons.—1909.

3. Jamieson (E.) Description of habits and customs of the Muhsös, black and red, also known as Lahus.—1909.

4. Lowis (C. C.) The tribes of Burma.—1910.

570 NATURAL SCIENCE: ARCHÆOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY.

KOCHER (Auguste) De la criminalité chez les Arabes au point de vue de la pratique médico-judiciaire en Algérie. . . . [Laboratoire de Médecine Légale de la Faculté de Lyon.] *Paris*, 1884. 8vo, pp. 244. R 40527

PEARL (Raymond) Modes of research in genetics. *New York*, 1915. 8vo, pp. vii, 182. R 41093

PITTARD (Eugène) Les peuples des Balkans. Esquisses anthropologiques. Avec . . . cartes et . . . figures. *Paris, Neuchâtel*, [1917?]. 8vo, pp. 142. R 41964

PLAYFAIR (A.) The Garos. . . . With an introduction by Sir J. Bampfylde Fuller, K.C.S.I. . . . Published under the orders of the government of Eastern Bengal and Assam. With illustrations and maps. *London*, 1909. 8vo, pp. xvi, 172. R 41772

RISLEY (Herbert Hope) The tribes and castes of Bengal. . . . Anthropometric data. *Calcutta*, 1891. 2 vols. 8vo. R 41276

SIERRA LEONE. Anthropological report on Sierra Leone. By Northcote W. Thomas. . . . Government Anthropologist. *London*, 1916. 2 vols. 8vo. R 41097

2. Timne-English dictionary.—1916.
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SMITH (William Ramsay) Australian conditions and problems from the standpoint of present anthropological knowledge. . . . Presidential address to the section of Anthropology of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, Melbourne, 1913. *Sydney*, 1913. 8vo, pp. 24. R 41030

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THURSTON (Edgar) Ethnographic notes in southern India. With . . . plates. . . . First edition. Second issue. *Madras*, 1907. 8vo, pp. viii, 580. R 41196

WEBSTER (Hutton) Primitive secret societies: a study in early politics and religion. *New York*, 1908. 8vo, pp. xiii, 227. R 41995

WILKEN (G. A.) Plechtigheden en gebruiken bij verlovingen en huwelijken bij de volken van den Indischen Archipel. Eerste stuk. [Overgedrukt uit de "Bijdragen tot de taal-, land-en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië," 5, i.] *'Sgravenhage*, 1886. 8vo. R 39255

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JACKSON (Benjamin Daydon) A glossary of botanic terms with their derivation and accent. . . . Third edition, revised and enlarged. *London*, 1916. 8vo, pp. xi, 427. R 41018

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ENGLAND. A gift to the state [by W. Hall Walker]: the national stud. A memorial of it compiled, edited & decorated by George A. Fothergill, with portraits by Lynwood Palmer & the editor. [*Edinburgh*], 1916. Fol., pp. xv, 235. R 41679

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610 USEFUL ARTS: MEDICINE.

AMAR (Jules) Organisation physiologique du travail. . . . Préface de Henry Le Chatelier. . . . [With illustrations.] *Paris*, 1917. 8vo, pp. xii, 374. R 41984

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630 USEFUL ARTS: AGRICULTURE.

MUKERJI (Nitya Gopal) Handbook of sericulture. . . . [With illustrations.] *Calcutta*, 1912. 8vo, pp. ii, ii, 298. R 41273

650 USEFUL ARTS: PRINTING, PUBLISHING, ETC.

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2. Haebler (C.) Der Capotius-Drucker—M. Landsberg.—[1907].
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*** Royal arms on verso of title.

—— ¶ A supplication of the poore Commons. . . . ¶ Wherunto is added the Supplication of Beggers. ([Sic. c. 7 recto, l. 25: subscription:] ¶ Your moste faythfull and obeysaunt subiectes: the pore commones of the royalme of Englande. Anno. M.ccccc.xlvi.—[verso:] ¶ The supplication of Beggers, compyled by Symon Fyshe. Anno. M.ccccc.xxiiii. . . .) [N.P., 1546?] 8vo, ff. [32]. R 41717

*** Black letter.

STUART.—CHARLES I, *King of Great Britain and Ireland.* The life and death of King Charles the First, written by . . . R. Perinchief: together with *Εἰκων βασιλική* representing his sacred Majesty in his solitudes and sufferings. And a vindication of the same King Charles the martyr. Proving him to be the author of the said *Εἰκων Βασιλική*, against a memorandum of the late Earl of Anglesey, and against the groundless exceptions of . . . Walker and others. [By T. Wagstaffe.] *London*, 1693. 8vo, pp. 46. R 41665

*** Containing the "Vindication of . . . King Charles the martyr" only.

CHARLES II, *King of Great Britain and Ireland.* The forme and order of the coronation of Charles the Second, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland. As it was acted and done at Scoone, the first day of Ianuary, 1651. *Aberdene*, 1651. 4to, pp. 24. R 41423

—— *Εἰκων βασιλική δεύτερα.* The pourtraicture of his sacred Majesty King Charles II. With his reasons for turning Roman Catholick; published by K. James. Found in the strong box. [A parody.] [With frontispiece.] [*London?*] 1694. 8vo, pp. xvi, 320. R 41668

ENGLAND. The history of the Commons warre of England. Throughout these three nations: begun from 1640, and continued till this present year 1662. . . . [The "Epistle Dedicatory" is subscribed "W. C."] [With frontispiece.] *London*, 1662. 8vo, pp. 140. R 41669

—— Mr. S.—John's speech to the Lords in the upper house of Parliament, January 7, 1640. Concerning ship-money. [*London?*], 1640 [O.S.] 4to, pp. 44. R 41424

942 HISTORY: MODERN: ENGLAND: PERIODS.

ENGLAND.—Penal laws and Test act. Questions touching their repeal propounded in 1687-8 by James II., to the deputy lieutenants and magistrates. . . . Fromt he original returns in the Bodleian Library. Edited, with notes and observations, by Sir George Duckett, Bart. *London*, 1882. 8vo, pp. 492. R 41417

*** 100 copies printed.

—— A perfect narrative of the whole proceedings of the High Court of Justice in the tryal of the King in Westminster Hall, on Saturday the 20, and Monday the 22 of this instant January. With the several speeches of the King, Lord President and Solicitor General. Published by authority to prevent false and impertinent relations. . . . (A continuation of the narrative being the third and fourth days proceedings of the High Court of Justice sitting in Westminster Hall Jan. 23, concerning the tryal of the King. . . . A continuation of the narrative being the last and final dayes proceedings of the High Court of Justice sitting in Westminster Hall on Saturday, Ian. 27, concerning the tryal of the King. . . . Together with a copy of the sentence of death upon Charls Stuart King of England. . . .) *London*, 1648 [O.S.] 3 vols. in 1. 4to. R 41664

LONDON. The city law, shewing the customes, franchises, liberties, priviledges, and immunities of the famous city of London. Together with the names, natures, kinds, jurisdictions, powers, and proceedings of the severall courts within the same: as also the titles, qualities, advantages, and profits of the severall officers, and offices in London: and in whose dispose those offices are. . . . *London*, 1658. 12mo, pp. 127. R 41488

QUARLES (John) Regale lectum miseriæ: or, a kingly bed of miserie. In which is contained, a dreame: with an elegie upon the martyrdome of Charls, late king of England . . . and another upon . . . the Lord Capel. With a curse against the enemies of peace; and the authours farewell to England. Whereunto is added, Englands sonets. . . . The second edition. [With plates and illustrations.] [*London*], 1649. 8vo, pp. 104. R 41422

*** Each leaf of the Elegy on Charles I contains on the verso a woodcut representation of funeral draperies.

SPANHEIM (Friedrich) *the Younger*. Laudatio funebris. . . . Mariæ II, Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ reginæ. . . . F. Spanhemius . . . dixit ex autoritate publica in illustriss. Batavor. Athenæo, ipso regalium exsequiarum die, Idib. Mart. Greg. A. CIↃ IↃC XCV. *Lugduni Batavorum*, 1695. Fol. pp. 94. R 42193

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HARRIS (George) The life of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke; with selections from his correspondence, diaries, speeches and judgments. . . . [With plates.] *London*, 1847. 3 vols. 8vo. R 41691

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2. January, 1823, to December, 1825.—1867.
3. December, 1825, to May, 1827.—1868.
4. May, 1827, to August, 1828.—1871.
5. September, 1828, to June, 1829.—1873.
6. July, 1829, to April, 1830.—1877.
7. April, 1830, to October, 1831.—1878.
8. November, 1831, to December, 1832.—1880.

—— Supplementary despatches and memoranda of Arthur Duke of Wellington. . . . Edited by his son, the Duke of Wellington. . . . [With map.] *London*, 1858-72. 15 vols. 8vo. R 42409

*** The title-page of Vol. 5 reads, "Civil correspondence and memoranda of . . . Arthur Duke of Wellington. . . ."

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[5.] Ireland: from March 30th, 1807, to April 12th, 1809.—1860.

6. Expedition to Denmark.—Plans for conquest of Mexico.—Expeditions to Portugal in 1808 and 1809—and the first advance of the British army into Spain. July, 1807 to December, 1810.—1860.

7. Peninsula, December, 1810, to June, 1813.—1860.
8. Peninsula and south of France, June, 1813, to April, 1814.—1861.
9. South of France, embassy to Paris and Congress of Vienna. April, 1814, to March, 1815.—1862.
10. Waterloo, the campaign in France, and the capitulation of Paris by a military convention with the allied British and Prussian armies. March to July, 1815.—1863.
11. Occupation of France by the allied armies; surrender of Napoleon; and restoration of the Bourbons. July, 1815, to July, 1817.—1864.
12. Settlement of claims on France; financial state of France; differences between Spain and Portugal; negotiations respecting the colonies of Spain in America; plot and attempt to assassinate the Duke of Wellington; evacuation of France by the allied armies. July, 1817, to end of 1818.—1865.
13. Appendix. 1794 to 1812.—1871.
14. Appendix. 1812 to the end of the military series.—1872.
15. Index to . . . Volumes I. to XIV. With chronological list of letters, memoranda, etc., published in the first (a new) edition of Gurwood and in the supplementary despatches.—1872.

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